

## World protests as Kremlin troops kill 15 Lithuanian demonstrators

### Thousands defy night curfew in Vilnius

By Nick Worrall in Vilnius, and Michael Binyon, Diplomatic Editor

THE Soviet army, extending its grip on Lithuania, last night ordered thousands of demonstrators off the streets of Vilnius, the capital, as it imposed a 5pm to 6am curfew.

After a night which left up to 15 people dead, doctors and nurses at the Red Cross hospital were prepared for troops to begin a new assault. Thousands of people, many of them pensioners, huddled round bonfires in Parliament Square as parliament went into closed emergency session.

Vytautas Landsbergis, the Lithuanian president, appealed to his people to resist the Soviet pressure. He asked the West to condemn the Soviet action yesterday, in which troops opened fire on unarmed Lithuanian men and women protesters in Vilnius. He called for a UN Security Council meeting. But he failed in his attempt to talk to President Gorbachev, saying the doors of the Kremlin were closed against him.

Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation leader, flew to Estonia yesterday evening. President Landsbergis said he spoke three times to him on the telephone, and he expressed strong opposition to Mr Gorbachev's actions.

It was unclear whether Mr Gorbachev had sanctioned the use of force, as he gave a spe-

cific commitment on Saturday that this was ruled out. Mr Yeltsin said he had spoken to Dmitri Yazov, the Soviet defence minister, who appeared not to know exactly what was happening in Lithuania. This strengthened the belief in Moscow that Mr Yazov may soon be dismissed.

A delegation of the presidents of Armenia and Belorussia arrived in Vilnius last night to begin a mediation mission. In Moscow, Soviet television defended the troops, saying they acted in self-defence.

The world expressed shock and outrage. Britain and the United States deplored the use of force in Vilnius, saying it threatened to wreck the West's new relationship with Moscow. Washington gave a warning that the proposed summit next month was now in jeopardy. Several EC members, including Britain, called for a review of emergency aid to the Soviet Union.

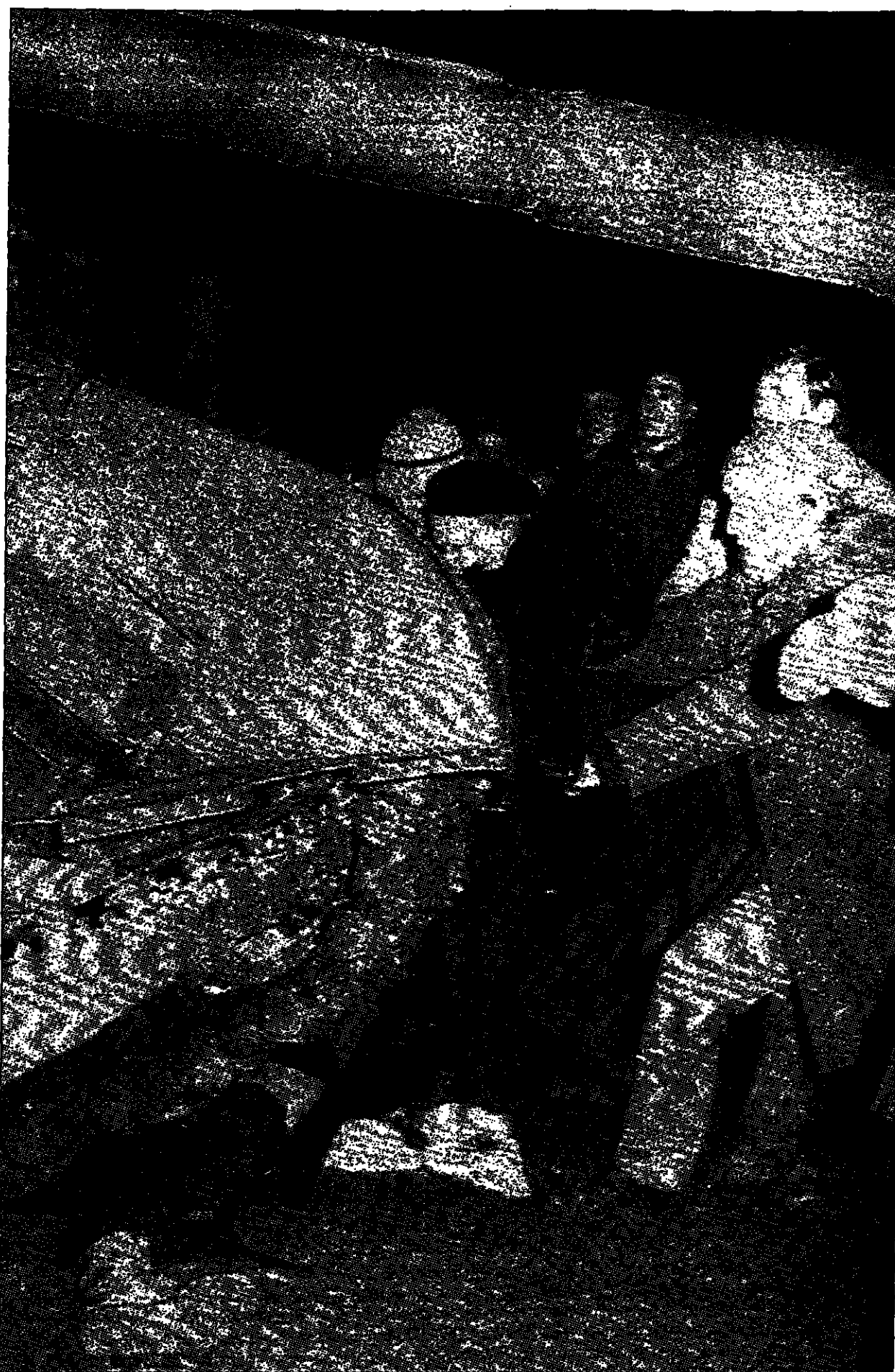
John Major, the prime minister, said he deplored the Soviet action. It was "deeply disturbing" that more violence had followed Moscow's promise to seek a political solution. He urged the Soviet government to halt military action and resume negotiations with Lithuania's elected authorities. "Coercion cannot promote a lasting solution to the problem of the Baltic peoples, whose right to determine their status in free negotiation with the Soviet authorities we have consistently supported," he said from Downing Street.

James Baker, the American Secretary of State, said in Ankara, on his way to meet Mr Major in Cambridge, that he was deeply disturbed and saddened by the deaths of those killed by Soviet troops who took over the broadcasting centre in Vilnius.

The action could endanger Soviet relations with the United States. "Enduring US-Soviet co-operation, indeed partnership, depends upon continued reform, for partnership is impossible in the absence of shared values," Mr Baker said. After speaking by telephone to Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, Mr Baker said the action contradicted President Gorbachev's own policies of reform. "Perestroika is based on the rule of law, not rule by force."

Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, said the world should not allow its preoccupation with the Gulf to blind it to the danger of a return to repression in the Baltic states. Britain had conveyed its concern to Moscow in vigorous terms. NATO's political committee met in emergency session and will meet again today. Officials said they were closely monitoring the situation in all three Baltic republics. NATO military officials believe the Soviet army may have acted without the express command of Mr Gorbachev.

The EC took a tough line, and its foreign ministers will hold an emergency meeting today. The Luxembourg presidency demanded an explanation from Moscow, and the



The people push back: Lithuanians trying to stop a Soviet tank from crushing a fellow protester in Vilnius yesterday

### 'People screamed for tanks to stop, but they drove on'

By Ralph Boulton and Nick Worrall in Vilnius

WASHINGTON: The crackdown drew parallels in the US with the Soviet suppression of Hungary in 1956. Page 6

PRAGUE: Czechoslovakia said it may leave the Warsaw Pact because of the attack. Page 6

MOSCOW: Radicals from the Russian Federation, who command a virtual majority in the republic's parliament, want it to withdraw economic co-operation from the Soviet authorities. Page 7

MOSCOW: Mary Dejevsky says that whether or not Mr Gorbachev sanctioned force, he is now a hostage to the army. Page 10

Soviet ambassador to the EC has been summoned to see Jacques Delors, the European Commission president.

Jacques Poos, the Luxembourg foreign minister, handed a letter to the Soviet ambassador appealing to Moscow to renounce the use of force and end the military intervention.

Leading article, page 11

DOCTOR Yelena Bezatskaya held up the passport of the man whose abdomen had been crushed by a Soviet tank on the streets of Vilnius, Lithuania's capital. Then, her face grim and drawn, she pounded her fist into her lap and burst into tears.

"If I were a young person, I would never serve the state again, not as a doctor, not as anything," she said.

Rows of soldiers illuminated by searchlights stood on a rise next to the city's occupied television tower, their work completed two hours after tanks raced straight at young people massed five metres (15 ft) deep to protect the installation.

Around the tower, on the western edge of Vilnius, thousands of pro-independence Lithuanians shook their fists and screaming abuse at the troops who fired volley after volley into the air. Dozens of injured people were loaded into ambulances, their cries of pain almost drowned out by the roar of tank motors and

the crackle of submachine-guns.

"I thought at first I would be a hero and stand my ground and that they wouldn't run me down," Antanas Sakalauskas, aged 38, who had both his legs crushed, said from a hospital bed. "The tank tracks went over both my legs. I'm sure there were about four other people underneath. People screamed for the tanks to stop but they drove straight on."

Stjepan Rumos, one of 11 guards manning positions inside the tower, said he knew of only three people who got out safely. "They smashed the windows and suddenly the soldiers just jumped in and fired everywhere into the crowd," he said. "I saw at least two dead."

Tear gas billowed through the cobbled streets of the town. "Occupiers, bastards," young people screamed in Russian at servicemen, their voices drowned out by megaphones aboard cars telling residents the small pro-Moscow "Committee of National

Salvation" had taken control of government.

Nationalist activists placed dozens of buses in front of the parliament building to prevent any move against it. "We just feel so bitter, so horrified to think that they could sweep us away. They're animals, fascists," a weeping teenage girl said.

Police major Antanas Stankus said he had tried to negotiate with troops as the first six tanks advanced on the tower at 1.30 am, to be joined immediately by a larger column.

"A soldier raised his rifle butt and pushed it into my face and I was pushed aside," he said. "One of the tanks ran straight over a man and must have killed him. They then moved forward, firing from towers backed by paratroopers on foot."

Flare rockets smashed huge window panes, sending shards of glass cascading down on to the thousands of young demonstrators, causing severe

## UN chief's grim silence after talks with Saddam

From Richard Beeston in Baghdad

JAVIER Pérez de Cuéllar, the UN secretary-general, left Baghdad last night tight-lipped about his apparently inconclusive talks with President Saddam Hussein.

The UN envoy was reported to have left for the airport immediately after the meeting and made no attempt to communicate the results to journalists.

The mood of pessimism surrounding the meeting had been set earlier when the Iraqi leader made another of his hard-line statements on the future of what he calls Iraq's 19th province. Kuwait, he said, would remain part of Iraq, apparently killing the last hope of avoiding fast-approaching war. With barely 60 hours to go to the expiry of the UN deadline for the removal of Iraqi troops there seemed little hope of avoiding a war. Apart from the president's statement the Baghdad media were studiously avoiding mention of the de Cuéllar mission.

Some, however, saw hope in the UN official's very silence holding out hope that the confidentiality might indicate some delicate new position which premature publicity might upset.

In the background there was the potential for further moves by the French who have all along shown themselves keen to step and fill any void left by the failure of Mr de Cuéllar's visit. Paris is actively considering a last-ditch initiative to avert war. The French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, spent the weekend canvassing the degree of support that could be expected from friendly Arab governments. There is also speculation that President Mitterrand may himself offer to travel to the Iraqi capital.

At the same time, the final moves to put France on a war footing are being worked out, with a score of military hospitals preparing to receive battle casualties. An extraordinary session of both houses of the French parliament on Thursday is expected to give Mitterrand formal powers to order troops into action.

But as the final hours tick away, the argument persists about the true degree of French commitment to defeating President Saddam. The debate essentially is this: will France fight if the crunch

### GULF MOVES

JERUSALEM: British citizens in Israel, advised by the Foreign Office to leave the area, filled special flights from Tel Aviv to Heathrow. Page 8

SAUDI ARABIA: The Desert Rats and their US counterparts were preparing for war, awaiting orders to attack Iraqi forces. Page 8

TEHRAN: Iran launched military manoeuvres along its frontier with Iraq, although President Rafsanjani's government has vowed to remain neutral if war breaks out. Page 8

PARIS: France is considering a last-ditch peace initiative after the failure of Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's visit to Baghdad. Page 9

JERUSALEM: Yitzhak Shamir, the Israeli prime minister, insisted it was up to Israel to decide when and how to defend itself in the event of an attack. Page 9

comes? French officials confronted with that question usually deflect it. The very phrase lays bare a deep and abiding suspicion about the true objectives of their British and American allies.

Tom King, the defence secretary, said the conflict would start with massive strikes on Iraqi airbases and missile sites. "We will take out and seek to attack and destroy sites that threaten them and that could increase the risk of casualties," he said.

In Amman, the danger of Syria abandoning the anti-Iraq alliance and siding with Iraq against Israel was discounted yesterday by Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary. Questioned about a radio message from President Assad to the Iraqi leader, in which the president said that "differences fade away between

Continued on page 18, col 7

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Reaping war dividend, page 21

### INSIDE Early election 'rejected'



A reflationary pre-election budget was said to have been firmly rejected by Norman Lamont, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (above), as Treasury ministers returned to London last night after their weekend budget review. And the government has virtually ruled out a spring general election. Page 18

### Funds freeze

The government will announce this week that there will be no extra money for councils in England and Wales to cut poll tax bills. Page 3

### Power risk

The two electricity generators now being privatised will find themselves vulnerable to a hostile takeover bid under the arrangements for the "golden share". Page 19

### Super markets

Only newsagents, grocers, and other retailers of staple goods reported sales growth in a CBI survey, which confirms recession in the High Streets. A study shows that Britain's supermarkets are the most profitable in the world. Page 19

### Studies first

Careers and down-to-earth attitudes are in and sex, drugs, rock and protest politics are out for most of today's university students. Pages 26, 27

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## Press corps puts its faith in Ali Baba's cave

From Richard Beeston in Baghdad

THE colony of stray cats asleep in the sun at the entrance to the abandoned British embassy building in Baghdad lend a deceptively tranquil air to a city which otherwise is preparing itself for war.

Like most foreign envoys in the Iraqi capital, the last remaining British diplomat pulled out this weekend and for the first time since the confrontation in the Gulf began the citizens of this ancient city have suddenly become aware of the dangers they now face.

"I would love to leave the city with my family," said Ibrahim, a father of two, who lives in a Baghdad suburb. "But where would I go that is safe?" He has relatives in the west of the

fears his family could be in greater danger there if hostilities broke out. The same applies to the north where Iraq faces 100,000 Turkish troops and the prospects of American air strikes against some of its key military installations. To the south, the picture is even more alarming because of the large concentration of tens of thousands of Iraqi reserve troops.

Military experts believe that Baghdad's air defences would be almost useless against strikes by sophisticated bombers and that its only defence will be its large civilian population.

"You can be sure that when the first planes hit, Saddam will be a long way off," remarked one resident. "Unfortunately as usual in this country the people who get hurt are the civilians."

construct ramps down the banks of the river Tigris, which meanders through the city, in the event that if all the bridges are destroyed movement will still be possible by ferry.

What is concerning the last sizeable Western community left in the capital — the 100 or so journalists who plan to stay beyond the January 15 deadline — is the accommodation at the al-Rashid, the country's finest hotel, which is located close to the presidential palace and the airport.

Hotel staff are concerned that their guests, who are also the only human shields left in Iraq, may decide to defect to less reputable, but possibly safer establishments. "We have a number one air raid shelter here, sir," said one of the hotel's Sudanese

concrete bunker which, it is hoped, will be as impenetrable as the cave of the fabled thief.

The Scandinavian-made shelter was constructed in 1982 for a non-aligned movement conference due to be held in Baghdad and was meant to protect delegates from possible Iranian air attacks. The delegates, perhaps wisely, never came and opted instead to hold their summit in Delhi.

However, if the foreign media think their situation is precarious they should spare a thought for the 40 or so remaining Soviet embassy staff who have been ordered by Moscow to remain in Baghdad with no shelter at all. "We won't need to be hit by the Americans," a Soviet official said. "Any bombs dropped nearby could

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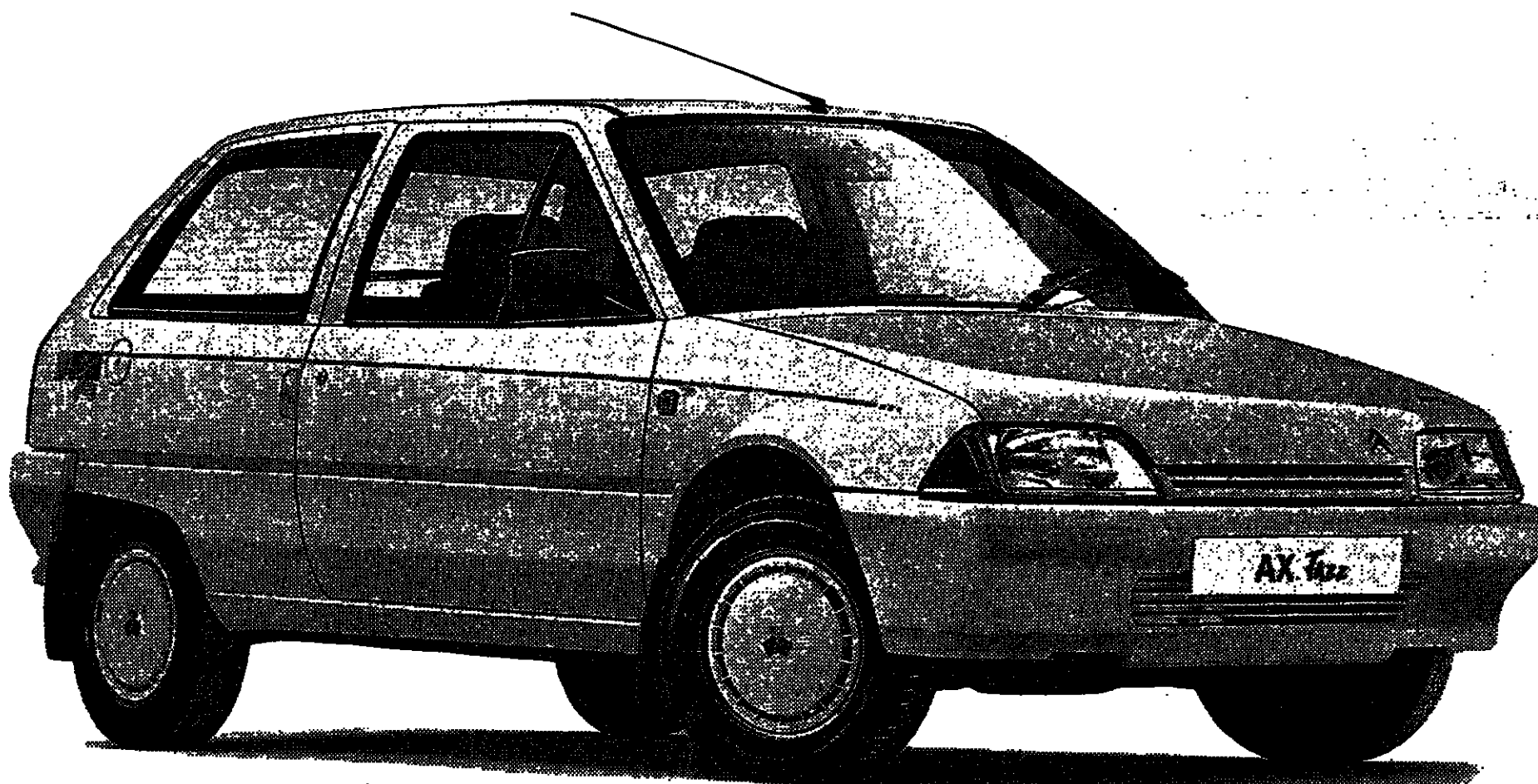






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# Soviet action appals US in light of Gulf co-operation

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

THE Soviet clampdown in Lithuania has appalled the Bush administration, with top officials drawing parallels with the Soviet suppression of Hungary in 1956 and giving a warning that US-Soviet relations will be seriously damaged unless it is reversed.

As emergency meetings were held at the White House yesterday, John Sununu, President Bush's chief of staff, hinted that next month's Moscow summit could be called off and Western emergency food aid to the Soviet Union stopped.

The Soviet action comes at the worst possible time for Washington. With America on the brink of war in the Gulf, it desperately needs Moscow's robust support for its attempt to reverse Iraq's forcible annexation of Kuwait. However, as Moscow is now using force to suppress a breakaway

state which it forcibly annexed 50 years ago, it places administration in an impossible position.

United States officials said they were uncertain whether Mr Gorbachev had personally ordered the action and, if he did not, it demonstrated that he was losing control to Soviet hardliners, fulfilling the prediction of approaching dictatorship made by Eduard Shevardnadze when he announced his resignation as foreign minister last month.

Last month America extended \$1 billion (£526 million) in agricultural credits to Moscow to alleviate food shortages and to help it "stay the course" of perestroika. Mr Sununu issued a warning to Mr Gorbachev that the action "jeopardises the capacity of the Soviet Union to continue to receive support from our friends in western Europe and the US".

The suspicion in Washington is that the Kremlin had hoped to use the Gulf as cover for a Baltic clampdown, but that gamble appears to have failed.

James Baker, the Secretary of State, said he was "deeply disturbed and saddened" by Moscow's use of force, saying it "fundamentally and tragically contradicts the basic principles of perestroika, glasnost and democratisation". He issued a warning that "enduring US-Soviet co-operation... depends on continued reform". Apparently referring to the Gulf, Mr Baker said he found it "hard... to understand how force can be used, especially now, to suppress newly-emerging democratic institutions".

Richard Cheney, the United States defence secretary, said there was "no question that the pattern... of steadily improving US-Soviet relations has been put in jeopardy". Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, called it "deeply disturbing".

Mr Sununu held out some hope that Moscow might yet reverse the clampdown, noting that "Mr Gorbachev still sees himself as a patron of perestroika".

On Friday, Mr Gorbachev telephoned Mr Bush to talk about the Gulf conflict, and the American president urged him against using force in Lithuania. On Saturday, the US Senate passed a measure urging Mr Gorbachev not to use force in Lithuania.

The Soviet action appeared to end months of fence-straddling by the Bush administration, which has said it does not recognise the annexation of the Baltic states but has refrained from jeopardising its vastly-improved relations with Moscow.

## Finland asks who rules in Moscow

FROM ASSOCIATED PRESS IN HELSINKI

FINLAND's prime minister, Harri Holkeri, yesterday urged Soviet leaders to stop using force in Lithuania and said he was concerned about who wielded power in Moscow.

"This is the central question: the question of how political power relations have developed in the Soviet leadership recently," Mr Holkeri said.

After an emergency meeting with President Mauno Koivisto and foreign ministry officials, Mr Holkeri said Finland felt "deep concern" over the loss of life in Lithuania. "This is a step backwards. There is reason to believe that this will adversely affect the situation in the whole of Europe," Mr Holkeri said.

"Finland has repeatedly stressed that the problems (between Moscow and the Baltic republics) which have arisen should be solved through negotiations and peacefully, according to the principles based on the CSCE (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe)," Mr Holkeri said.

Hundreds of demonstrators outside the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki protested at the use of force in Lithuania and demanded freedom for the breakaway Baltic republics. The demonstrators later moved to the presidential palace to protest about earlier statements by President Koivisto backing the Soviet leader's policies.

On Thursday President Koivisto said that Finland would continue to support President Gorbachev, and said Finland recognised the 1940 Soviet annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

● REYKJAVIK: The Icelandic foreign minister, Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, said yesterday that President Vytas Landsbergis of Lithuania had asked him to call for a meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the Soviet action in the republic. Mr Hannibalsson, who spoke on a television programme here, did not say if he planned to respond to the request.

The foreign minister said that the Lithuanian request had been transmitted through the Lithuanian information bureau in Oslo. (AFP)



End of a dream: President Landsbergis addresses his nation from parliament yesterday, telling of the brutal Soviet tank attack on the television station in Vilnius in which 15 people were killed

## EC wants urgent review of \$1bn aid to Soviet Union

FROM GEORGE BROCK IN BRUSSELS

EUROPEAN Community ministers began to call yesterday for a review of the community's billion-dollar aid programme to the Soviet Union.

A decision to suspend the delivery of food and drugs would need the agreement of all 12 governments. Luxembourg, the current EC president, has called for a meeting of foreign ministers today. The meeting will also consider the status of the latest peace moves in the Gulf conflict.

Last month the community agreed to send emergency aid to Moscow of about \$1 billion worth of medical and food supplies. Technical aid was also promised. But yesterday's violence in Vilnius

has prompted the first calls for a reassessment.

"We must explain clearly to the Soviet Union that our aid is conditional," said Mark Eyskens, the Belgian foreign minister. "We have a means of pressure." Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, was the other minister from the Twelve to suggest a review.

Vladimir Shemistankov, the Soviet ambassador to the EC, has been summoned to a meeting with Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, and Frans Andriessen, the vice-president and commissioner for external affairs. No date has been set.

The decision to send aid, taken at the EC summit in Rome in

December, was preceded by disagreements over the type, quantity and delivery route of the assistance. Some countries, including Britain, are wary of huge amounts of aid, which would require increased national contributions to the community budget. Others are dubious about aid which would preserve the Soviet system: no macro-economic aid was included in the Rome package. There were also doubts about the wisdom of channelling all aid through Moscow, as at present.

Luxembourg, in its role as EC president, issued a statement condemning the Soviet use of force in the Baltic republics, saying that the community had learnt of the deaths in Vilnius with "consternation".

France and Germany issued a joint statement, urging President Gorbachev to stick to his promise not to use force. Gianni De Michelis, the Italian foreign minister, compared Moscow to Baghdad and said that the world would not allow either government to violate basic rules of law.

The situation in the Baltic region represents a fresh dilemma for West European governments at a time when they are wrestling with last-minute diplomacy to avoid a war in the Gulf. The Lithuanian repression is the first open challenge to the Paris charter of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), in which many hopes — particularly German ones — have been invested.

The Baltic confrontation also raises anew the possibility of mass emigration to West Europe, just when governments were toning down the most alarmist predictions for the possible numbers of refugees that might arrive in the West.

## Germany expresses its alarm

FROM IAN MURRAY IN BONN

A SPECIAL unit has been set up in the German foreign ministry to monitor what Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the minister, has described as "the alarming situation" in Lithuania. On Herr Genscher's instructions, the Soviet ambassador in Bonn was summoned and told of the "alarm and expectations" of the German government.

Herr Genscher, who has been President Gorbachev's leading advocate in the West, said: "We hope that all states are conscious of their responsibilities under the terms of the charter for a new Europe signed at the end of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Paris."

## Eastern Europe sees shadow of 1956 invasion

FROM REUTER IN VIENNA

EASTERN Europe reacted with alarm and dismay to the Soviet repression in Lithuania, which recalled the dark days of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In Hungary, there was no direct official mention of Moscow's intervention in 1956 to crush an anti-communist uprising, but the government made its concern clear.

"Reports arriving from the Baltic republics give rise to anxiety in Hungary," said Janos Herman, a foreign ministry spokesman. "As we have emphasised in the past, we understand the efforts of the Baltic peoples for self-determination. We hope the situation will be settled in a democratic manner, through negotiations."

About 100 people demonstrated on Saturday outside the Soviet embassy in Budapest, lighting candles beside Lithuanian flags. In Warsaw the private *Radio Gazeta*, reporting from Vilnius that a pro-Moscow communist group was preparing to take power from the separatist leadership, commented: "This is nothing new in our part of Europe. In Hungary in 1956 (former communist leader Janos) Kadar formed something similar, and we also had such a committee formed when martial law was imposed in December 1981."

Several hundred people gathered outside the Soviet embassy in Warsaw on Sunday shouting "Down with the commies" and "Gorbachev go home".

Only in Bulgaria was press coverage of the Lithuanian repression muted and without comment, a move some analysts saw as dictated by fear that the energy-starved country would lose access to Soviet oil.

The country, which has already rationed petrol and restricted private motoring, has just negotiated a barter deal with Moscow for 6.5 million tonnes of oil next year.

Sources at Bulgarian television said its news department was barred by its management from using television film showing Soviet troops occupying key buildings in Vilnius.

● PRAGUE: Czechoslovakia has summoned the Soviet ambassador to the federal government building and is reported to be preparing emergency medical supplies to be flown to the Lithuanian nationalists (Peter Green writes).

Boris Pankin, the ambassador, was to meet Marian Calfa, the prime minister, at 4pm. Václav Klaus, Czechoslovakia's finance minister, said. Meanwhile, Lubos Dobrovsky, the defence minister, was reported by the official CTK news agency to be organising relief for Lithuania.

Mr Pankin had been summoned by Czech officials last Tuesday, and told that Prague would not look favourably on any Soviet intervention in the Baltic region.

Czechoslovakia was eastern Europe's last victim of armed Soviet intervention when, early on the morning of August 21, 1968, Soviet paratroops and tanks rolled into Prague to put down the Prague Spring reform communist movement of Alexander Dubcek. Around 81 people died in the confrontation, which was followed by 21 years of hardline communist rule.

A Czechoslovakian statement said: "The government considers it disquieting that the armed action of the Soviet army against the Lithuanian people has taken place at a moment when the world public is watching tensely the joint action against the Iraqi aggression."

In Prague, Mrs Calfa called an emergency cabinet meeting to discuss the conflict in Lithuania as other parties issued condemnations of Moscow's actions.

"To Czechoslovak citizens the action taken by the Soviet govern-

ment is a very unpleasant reminder of August 1968, when international law and norms of relations between sovereign states were also defied," the Social Democratic Party said in a statement yesterday.

For Czechoslovaks, television pictures of Lithuanians pleading with young Soviet soldiers in their tanks, in their own language, provided a painful reminder of similar images from Prague that went around the world two decades earlier.

The ruling Civic Forum, holding its annual congress in Prague, also referred to the past in a resolution expressing solidarity with Lithuanians.

"With respect to the tragic historical experience of our nations, we are convinced that the current conflict between the Soviet republics and the central government must not be solved by violence but by political dialogue," it said.

Czechoslovakia has supported Lithuania's drive for independence from the beginning.

## Prague 'may leave pact in protest'

FROM REUTER IN PRAGUE

THE use of force in Lithuania was yesterday condemned by Czechoslovakia, which said it could leave the Warsaw Pact as a result.

"The use of military force... mars the process of the consolidation of security, peace and relaxation in Europe, and undermines confidence in the democratic changes which have been taking place in the Soviet Union in the last few years," a government statement said after an emergency cabinet meeting.

Jiri Dienstbier, the foreign minister, had been instructed to discuss possible joint reaction with Hungary and Poland, including a rapid withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, it said. Hungary has already said it will leave the pact and Czechoslovakia has said it will do so if the alliance remains predominantly military rather than political.

The government statement added that the Czechoslovak government was disquieted that the action in Lithuania had taken place "at a moment when the world public is watching tensely the efficiency of a joint action against Iraqi aggression".

Several hundred protesters demonstrated outside the Soviet embassy in Prague, haranguing a Soviet diplomat who left the building to talk to them, and brandishing banners comparing the crackdown in Lithuania to the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Czechoslovakia has repeatedly supported Lithuania's drive for independence from the Soviet Union and in November agreed to set up a diplomatic representation in the republic's capital, Vilnius.

Earlier, Mr Dienstbier briefed the congress of the ruling Civic Forum on the situation in the Baltic republics. He said that Mr Lubos Dobrovsky, the defence minister, was organising transport to deliver medical and other relief supplies to Lithuania "if it will be possible".

The small Social Democratic Party said: "To Czechoslovak citizens, the action taken by the Soviet government is a very unpleasant reminder of August 1968, when international law and norms of relations between sovereign states were also defied."

## Gorbachev displays blind spot on nationalities

By DOMINIC LIEVEN

NOBODY should doubt who is responsible for the weekend's bloodshed in Lithuania. It is Mikhail Gorbachev. The command to storm Lithuanian government buildings must have come from the Kremlin. It inevitably entailed the use of firearms.

Nor is this a confrontation which sprang unexpectedly on Moscow. On the contrary, in recent days President Gorbachev has been stoking the flames with ultimatums, troop deployments and the incitement of the Russian and Polish minority in Lithuania.

The disintegration of the Lithuanian government under Moscow's pressure, followed by the imposition of presidential rule, will, the Kremlin hopes, convey to all republics the message that Moscow still has the will and the power to rule.

The confrontation in Lithuania results from the failure of Mr Gorbachev's leadership in all aspects of domestic policy last year. From 1985 to 1989 Mr Gorbachev controlled events. From mid-

1989, and above all since the republican elections in March last year, events have controlled him, exposing the limitations of a man whose outlook was conditioned by many decades in a bureaucratic apparatus that was both imperial and communist.

In recent months anyone looking for vision or clarity in Soviet politics has found it in the republican leaders, not in Mr Gorbachev. At December's People's Congress even the much-denied leaders of backward Kirghizia and Kazakhstan far outshone him.

Mr Gorbachev came to power determined to make the Soviet Union a modern country — richer, more powerful and more civilised. To undermine conservative opponents of reform, he democratised Soviet politics and created a new parliamentary base for himself independent of the party apparatus. He was taken back, however, by the forces of demagoguery released and above all by the loathing of the Soviet regime revealed in many of the

non-Russian republics. The nationalities issue has always been Mr Gorbachev's blind spot. His politburo between 1985 and 1989 was almost exclusively Slav, to a degree unprecedented in Soviet history. Now his mishandling of the non-Russians is likely to destroy all reformist hopes.

Mr Gorbachev's promise last week to the republican presidents that bloodshed would be avoided in Lithuania is now revealed as a lie. Massive repression on a Stalinist scale might preserve Moscow's writ in the short run, but Russia would pay a terrible price for the attempt to preserve imperial rule by force across a vast swathe of Eurasia. Those groups in Russian society prepared to support neo-Stalinism in politics — millions of bureaucrats, part of the working class, chauvinists and some generals — will also veto economic reform, for it would destroy them.

The tragedy towards which Mr Gorbachev is leading the Soviet Union was not inevitable. Democratisation had to mean the end of

empire. If Mr Gorbachev had illusions on this score, the republican elections in March last year should have dispelled them. Had he read Lenin's writings on the nationalities issue before 1917, he might have understood that whatever the economic logic of preserving a united imperial market, nations subjected to decades of repression would be bound to seek political independence.

Western governments were right to be patient as Mr Gorbachev struggled with difficult domestic issues. They argued that the end of superpower confrontation had been a key prerequisite for Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe. The fate of six million Balts had to be balanced against how best to preserve stability across northern Eurasia.

The terms of the equation have now shifted. The surest way to guarantee lasting chaos in Eurasia is for Moscow to attempt to preserve the union by force.

Dominic Lieven is senior lecturer in Russian Government at the London School of Economics.

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# A night of bloodletting as Moscow loses patience with democracy

## Democrats in Russia march to denounce Gorbachev

From BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

RADICALS in the Russian Federation, who make up a virtual majority in the huge republic's parliament, want it to withdraw economic co-operation from the Soviet authorities and even leave the Soviet Union unless Moscow backs down in Lithuania.

The threat by the Democratic Russia bloc, grouping politicians from Vladivostok to Leningrad, was the most serious challenge to President Gorbachev among scores of denunciations of army behaviour by liberals and nationalists around the Soviet Union.

Boris Yeltsin, the reformist Russian president, was reported last night to be heading for the Baltic region. Several hundred radical Russian deputies inter-

rupted a weekend strategy conference to stage a march through Red Square to the Kremlin, chanting slogans against the military repression, such as "Today Lithuania, tomorrow Russia".

Galvanised by the Vilnius events into closing ranks and burying internal squabbles, the delegates joined forces to call on Mr Yeltsin to convene an emergency session of the republic's legislature and demand the immediate withdrawal of Russian soldiers from the forces occupying Lithuania.

As well as demanding the withdrawal of co-operation from the central authorities, they called for civil disobedience and political strikes if the use of force in the Baltic region continued.

Mr Yeltsin, whose government nearly paralysed Soviet finances last month by refusing to make budget contributions, set out his opposition to military force in the Baltic republics in a strongly worded message on Saturday afternoon, before the bloodiest clashes began.

Other radical politicians led 3,000 people in a march from Red Square to the Communist Party central committee. Protesters chanted "Hands off Lithuania" and "Freedom for Lithuania" as they marched past KGB headquarters waving huge Russian and Lithuanian flags.

"Come and join us, it will be all of us next," the marchers shouted at passers-by who watched from behind police cordons. Like other recent street protests in Moscow, it was much smaller than the rallies of up to 100,000 people which were regular events six months ago. But the Lithuanian conflict appeared to have given a new passion to the hard core of pro-democracy activists. Activists from the militantly pro-Western Democratic Union party were detained after they tried to force their way into Red Square.

Telmas Gdilyan, the most popular of the radical orators, repeated calls for a general strike and demanded the immediate removal of President Gorbachev. "He was always more of a dictator than a democrat and now he has thrown off his democratic mask," the former criminal investigator said.

"If he has become a puppet (of the armed forces) he has no moral right to rule 300 million people," Sergei Belosertsev, a young deputy who denounced suspicious troop movements last autumn, told reporters he thought Dmitri Yazov, the defence minister, might not be in full control of the army. He also mentioned the widespread rumours that Anatoli Lukyanov, the parliamentary Speaker, might play a key role in establishing a more conservative leadership.

Galina Starovoitova, another radical deputy, said she had heard that troops stationed near Moscow were in a heightened state of readiness and that militia in the capital had been issued with a new kind of bullet.

At the Lithuanian mission in Moscow, a stream of liberal parliamentarians from Russia, the Ukraine and Armenia came to offer condolences and solidarity. "We are your brothers," a seven-man Ukrainian delegation said.

Egidius Bickas, the Lithuanian mission chief, who attended Saturday's meeting of leaders of all 15 republics, said not a single one had endorsed the use of force in Lithuania. Mr Yeltsin had spoken with particular vehemence against it.

"I thought we had bought two or three days' reprieve, but it all turned out to be hypocrisy," Mr Bickas said, as several hundred people demonstrated outside his office shouting slogans such as "Gorbachev, killer".

## Troops 'had to halt mass unrest'

THE following are extracts from a Tass dispatch from Vilnius on the conflict in Lithuania:

In view of the situation that has developed in Lithuania, an overnight curfew was imposed in Vilnius, the capital of the republic, and in Kaunas.

Major-General Vladimir Usk-hobchik, head of the city's garrison, was appointed the commandant of Vilnius. Special regulations for entering and leaving Vilnius are being introduced. Nevertheless, Vytautas Landsbergis (the Lithuanian president) called on the people of the republic to go on a general strike on January 14.

The situation in Lithuania became sharply aggravated in recent days as a result of the heightening of tension by the republic's leadership. This led to the authorities losing control over the situation in Vilnius and Kaunas. For the sake of avoiding mass unrest, a Lithuanian national salvation committee, set up on January 11, had to state that it was taking power into its hands.

Since anti-Soviet broadcasts were constantly conducted through the channels of national television and radio, and hostile remarks against the USSR were voiced, the leadership of the national salvation committee decided to bring state television and radio under control.

At 1am local time (2am Moscow time) paratroop units and militia took over control the republican television centre. Sajudis supporters that keep vigil near the building of the television centre round the clock tried to prevent troops from penetrating the building. Unfortunately, as a result of an ensuing clash, there were casualties. According to preliminary data, two people were killed and 32 injured. Local news media give higher figures of casualties. Most people were hurt as a result of a crush after two warning preliminary shots were fired by heavy tanks that rode to the television centre building. Panic ensued.

The pressure of the crowd was barely deterred by submachine-guns. In order to hold out, they began to fire into the air. However, owing to aggressive behaviour by a group of militants, tear-gas grenades had to be used. In retaliation, stones were hurled and shots were fired.

There is no doubt that all these casualties are fully on the conscience of the present leadership of Lithuania and Sajudis.

## GEORGIA

### Police storm nationalist barricades in Ossetia

From ANATOLI LIEVEN IN TSKHINVALI

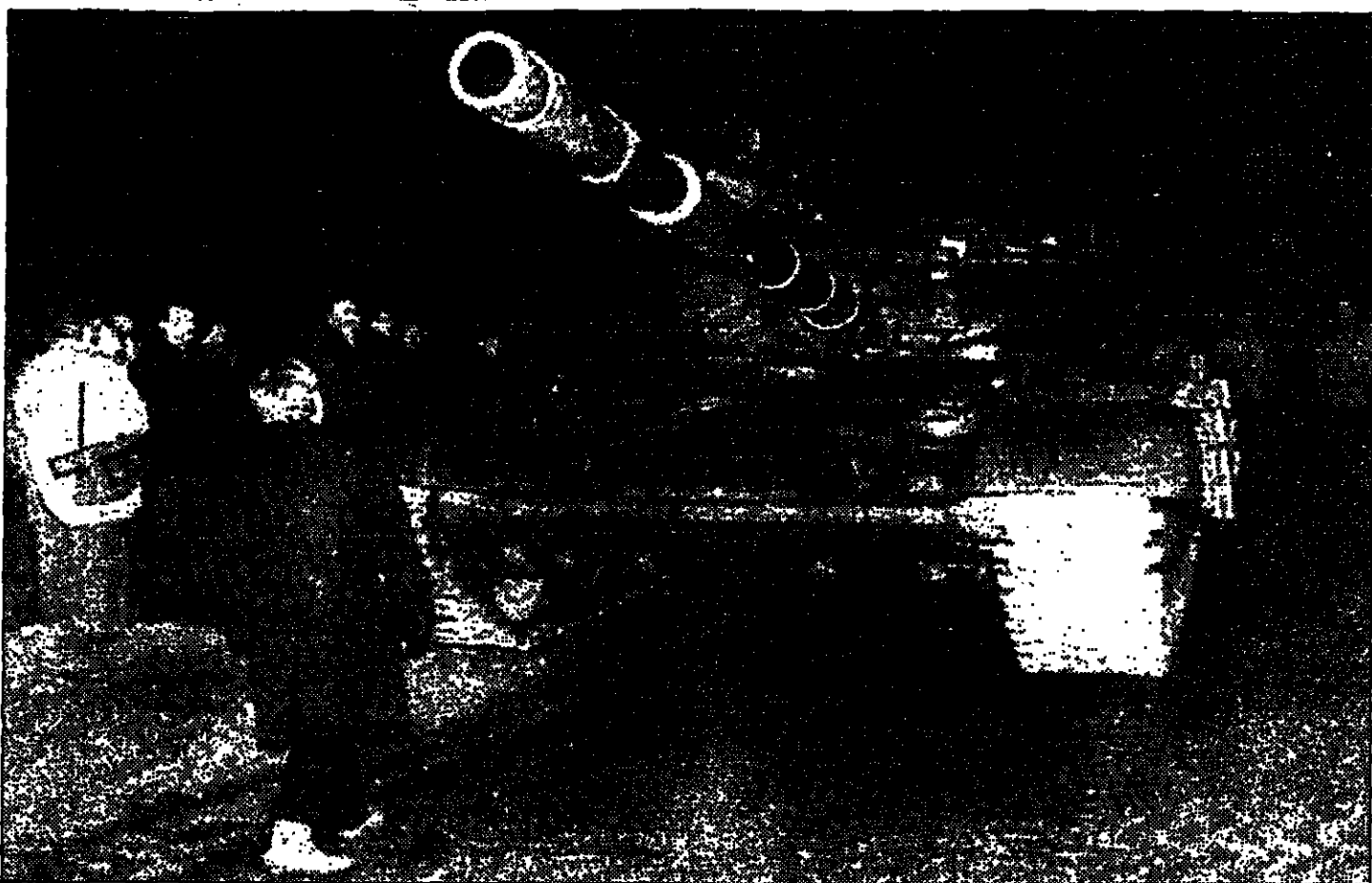
AS THE Soviet government's ultimatum to Georgia to withdraw its police from the disputed region of South Ossetia expired yesterday, Georgia's radio announced that police, equipped with armoured personnel carriers, had stormed Ossete nationalist barricades in Tskhinvali, the regional capital.

The announcement said seven people had been wounded and that four leading Ossete militants had been arrested, but did not mention any deaths. The radio report said Soviet interior ministry troops helped the Georgian police, and that one of their men was wounded. Eleven people died in clashes in Tskhinvali last week.

A spokesman for the Soviet military command in Tbilisi refused to comment. However,

Soviet headquarters yesterday announced the sending of an unspecified number of reinforcements to Georgia, allegedly to protect military buildings and depots from theft of arms. The Soviet defence ministry has announced that, as in the Baltic states, it intends to enforce conscription in Georgia. All telephone lines to Tskhinvali have been cut, and it has not yet been possible to get confirmation of the Georgian radio report of events.

The Georgian government yesterday broadcast a message saying that reinforcements may mean Soviet military intervention in a repetition of events in Lithuania. It appealed to the world community not to let its attention be distracted from Georgia's fate by the threat of war in the Gulf.



Iron will: an unarmed protester bravely bars the way to the might of the Soviet army during the early stages of yesterday's assault on the television and radio station in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, where Moscow is asserting its authority



Steel fist: Lithuanian defiance turns to horror as the tanks advance unwaveringly, crushing cars and people in their path. At least 15 people died when troops fired on the pro-independence crowd which had been guarding the television centre



Scars of battle: medical staff tending an injured demonstrator. A nearby hospital cleared its operating theatres to cope with the influx of more than 100 wounded people, and armoured vehicles toured the city streets to announce a curfew

## Lithuania makes appeal to Poland for support

From ROGER BOYES IN WARSAW

LITHUANIA will set up a government in exile and fight for its independence from across the border if the Soviet leadership crushes the rebel republic, "but not yet," Algirdas Saudargas, the Lithuanian foreign minister, said in Warsaw yesterday. "For the time being at least we still have a government and a parliament."

Mr Saudargas said he was confident of Polish support for Lithuania's struggle against Moscow. "Our most urgent need at the moment is for medicine - there have been many wounded, and there may be many more."

Political support for the Lithuanian cause came promptly from the Polish parliament. A declaration by both chambers committed Poland to Lithuanian independence and called on the Soviet authorities to use only peaceful means to settle the confrontation.

Solidarity activists have begun to work out contingency plans should Lithuania face a martial law clampdown similar to that in Poland in 1981. Leaflets and bulletins in the Lithuanian language could be printed in Poland and smuggled across the border; Polish radio and television could transmit information to the Baltic republic.

The Polish authorities are wor-

ried not only about the fate of the Polish minority across the frontier but also about the course of democracy in eastern Europe if President Gorbachev can hold the Soviet Union together only with force. The same anxiety is felt in Czechoslovakia - which called an emergency cabinet session yesterday - and in Hungary.

Vytautas Landsbergis, the Lithuanian president, telephoned Andrzej Stelmachowski, the Speaker of the Polish Senate, and Bronislaw Geremek, the influ-

tial Solidarity deputy, imploring Warsaw to alert the West to the fate of his republic. President Walesa has been asked to urge restraint on Mr Gorbachev.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser to Jimmy Carter, the former US president, visited Mr Walesa at the weekend. "I told of the fears that there will be a repetition of October 1956 - when under the cover of the Suez crisis the Russians crushed the Hungarians," he said.

Mr Walesa declared himself to

be the president of all the Poles, including those in the Soviet republics. And thousands of demonstrators gathered outside the Soviet embassy in Warsaw. The main banner said: "Gorbachev, winner of the Nobel Prize 1990, Saddam Hussein, 1991".

All Soviet military transports across Poland have been stopped. The Poles want all Soviet troops to be withdrawn from Poland before they help to evacuate forces from Germany. Suddenly the Soviet army looks menacing again.

## EC emergency aid could be reviewed

By MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

BRITAIN is among a number of EC countries saying the twelve might have to review its decision to offer emergency aid to the Soviet Union. Belgium has also called for a second look at the humanitarian aid agreed at the Rome summit last month. Denmark, which has close relations with the Baltic states, condemned the "unprovoked attack".

Most European countries have suggested that the use of force is a direct violation of the Paris charter, signed by the Soviet Union

and 33 European countries at the summit of the signatories to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe in November.

Even in Germany, where goodwill towards the Soviet Union is strongest, the foreign ministry summoned the Soviet ambassador to express concern. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister, kept in close touch with his French counterpart, Roland Dumas.

Anger was strongest in much of Eastern Europe, with its own painful memories of Soviet inva-

sions. Czechoslovakia held a cabinet meeting, and called for a rapid withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. The ruling Civic Forum expressed solidarity with Lithuanians. The defence ministry was organising delivery of medical supplies.

But in Bulgaria, where the socialist government has close links to Moscow, there was only low-key reaction, and in China, the officially-controlled media mentioned the events only briefly.

There were anti-Soviet demonstrations in a number of capitals.

## Glasnost stifled by hardline media

From BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

GLASNOST, already under threat in recent weeks from a new, hardline broadcasting chief, may have been mortally wounded along with the defenders of independent Lithuania.

Both Tass and the state television and radio have treated the events in Vilnius with a mixture of deafening silence, half-truths and seditious comments that matches the behaviour of the Soviet press in the darkest days under Brezhnev.

Throughout the past week the official media have followed the line of Kremlin conservatives, putting out two conflicting impressions: that a civil war was brewing between two evenly balanced sides, in which Soviet forces must play a disinterested role in keeping them apart, and that the conflict pits aggrieved victims of "human rights violations" and economic mismanagement against an irresponsible and unpopular Lithuanian government.

With the exception of the youth daily, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Moscow newspapers have followed these lines; and virtually all of them recently stopped printing on Sundays, under financial pressure from rising newsprint costs.

But there were times, it seemed, when events were too "complicated", to use a favourite Kremlin euphemism, to say anything about them at all. On Friday, as Vilnius seethed with tension, Tass, after several hours, carried just one item from the city. It solemnly reported an Israeli cultural event.

And early yesterday, as tanks smashed through the crowds guarding the Vilnius television tower, all Tass carried was a triumphant telegram quoting a British newspaper as saying events there were "nothing to get hysterical about". But nine hours after the clashes began, by which time at least 14 people had died and more than 100 were injured, there came just two Orwellian-like paragraphs: "Last night, units of the interior ministry troops established control over the state broadcasting building of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. A clash took place between the military and those who tried to defend the installation. Firearms were used by both sides."

"According to data received at the Committee of National Salvation two people, including one serviceman, were injured and about 30 wounded." Much later, Tass provided a more detailed account of how the self-appointed "committee" had regrettably been obliged to seek the military's help in silencing the "constant anti-Soviet broadcasts" emanating from the tower. "Unfortunately, as a result of the ensuing clashes, there were casualties," it said.

Tass insisted that there had been firing from the crowd which killed one soldier. Lithuanian versions say he was killed by his own side.

## Latvia fears dawn attack on capital

From REUTER IN RIGA

A SEPARATIST Latvian leader predicted that Soviet troops would attack at dawn as anxious crowds gathered in the capital yesterday in solidarity with neighbouring Lithuania.

"We are ready for the Soviet paratroops to attack tomorrow morning," the vice-president, Dainis Ivanis, said in his Riga office as tens of thousands of people poured through the city's streets towards Cathedral Square. "We have reports that 2,500 paratroops are being prepared for action in the centre of the town and that they will start their attacks at 6.30am."

He believed President Gorbachev was fully behind the assault by Soviet paratroops on a television tower in Vilnius.

"We can only come to one conclusion," Mr Ivanis said. "Either Gorbachev is lying, which I believe, or he is not in control of the situation. I do not believe that." Latvian radio asked the people to converge on the capital for a mass rally organised by the nationalist Popular Front to show support for both the Latvian and Lithuanian governments.

The voice of a woman announcer broke as she read an appeal for blood donors and doctors to come forward immediately. Riga city council officials said some 200,000 people were massed in front of the cathedral after an emergency session of the parliament, broadcast throughout the centre of the city on loudspeakers.

Ivan Kezberis, leader of the pro-reform Democratic Labour Party, told the session: "Tragedy is just around the corner. Action is being taken against all the Baltics. I do not think anyone will escape."

Russian-speaking deputies, who generally oppose independence, denounced his allegations.



# Calm before the storm as allied army steels its nerve for battle

FROM RICHARD ELLIS  
IN EASTERN SAUDI ARABIA

MILITARY preparations are almost complete and the waiting may soon be over. In desert camps across eastern Saudi Arabia, the Desert Rats and their American counterparts were yesterday preparing for war, awaiting the order to attack Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

Barring a surprise announcement by President Saddam Hussein before tomorrow's deadline, the indications are that the order may come quickly. Across the kingdom, military activity has reached a new intensity.

On the road from Dhahran,

north to the Kuwaiti border, 3,500 supply lorries are pouring towards the front line each day, where hundreds of thousands of American, British and Arab soldiers have dug in.

If anything, the road was even busier yesterday. The convoys, headlights blazing in the grey Saudi winter daylight, are packed with munitions, food, medicines and fuel — "beans, bullets and bandages", said one American behind the wheel of a "dragonwagon", a 25-ton heavy-lift vehicle that is the mainstay of the logistics operation.

Some lorries towed ground-to-air missiles, while American Apache and Blackhawk heli-

copters flew overhead on their way to the front. Bedouins tending their camels at the roadside stopped to stare.

At the front, just a few miles from the Kuwaiti border, the men who will lead the assault, if it comes, were honing their fighting skills. The old military maxim of "train hard, fight easy" has never been more closely followed. The war games practised in Europe have been replaced by the closest thing to battle conditions most of these men have experienced.

At firing ranges, safety officers have been dispensed with and, day and night, more live ammunition has been used than in some small wars. Such thorough preparation

has had its consequences: in the build-up since Saddam invaded Kuwait last August, nearly 100 Americans have died in accidents. Last week a lieutenant in the Queen's Royal Lancers was killed when his Scimitar reconnaissance vehicle overturned in the desert.

The casualties have not deterred the push to get the allied machine into peak condition. Yesterday it was the turn of the sappers, the Royal Engineers, to perfect techniques for clearing the defences the Iraqis have constructed close to the Kuwaiti border.

After the initial bombardment from air, land and sea, it is these men who will clear a path for the tanks and infantry battalions. The

task of clearing minefields, berms, and blazing trenches filled with oil is unenviable, but one the engineers are used to. Young sappers who crawled across the sand to attach cables to live mines which were then blown up — "It gives them confidence for the real thing," said an officer — know they soon might be doing it for real, and that some of them are likely to die. But they do not allow such morbid thoughts to distract them.

"The cry in the first world war was 'follow the sapper', the cry in the Falklands was 'follow the sapper'," said Colonel Tony Reedscreen, Royal Engineers' commanding officer. "I don't see it being any different this time."

The Desert Rats, too, are resigned to the prospect of fighting. Few, though, hide their apprehension, but speak of the "job" that needs to be done in liberating Kuwait. They speak of midnight tomorrow being "kick-off time", though technically the deadline passes soon after dawn on Wednesday.

Away from the front, the people living in eastern Saudi Arabia within range of Saddam's Scud missiles were also preparing for war.

The remaining flights out of Dhahran before tomorrow are full, and the road west to Riyadh, the Saudi capital, is jammed with cars taking children away from the danger zone. The fear of terrorist

attacks has also heightened. At road checkpoints, passports and identity cards are being studied closely.

In some quarters, however, an unreal atmosphere remains, with many people still not accepting that war may be on the way. At Dhahran's International hotel, Pakistani workers spent their day off playing cricket. And at a seafaring funfair at nearby Al Khobar, the big dipper continued to blaze in the night sky. There are plans to shut off its lights if conflict comes but, for the moment, many Saudis are determined to spend what could be their last few days of peace having some fun.

## Hundreds of Britons crowd on to special flights out of Israel

FROM RICHARD OWEN IN JERUSALEM

BRITISH citizens in Israel, advised by the Foreign Office on Saturday to leave the area, filled special British Airways flights from Tel Aviv to Heathrow at the weekend, with further flights expected today.

British Airways said four aircraft carrying 1,020 passengers had left over the weekend. A further 360 people are to leave today. About 2,000 people, mostly foreigners, jammed Tel Aviv airport on Saturday, the Jewish sabbath, a day when few flights usually operate.

The departure of Britons follows similar advice given to tens of thousands of Americans by the US embassy in Tel Aviv on Friday. The Foreign Office state-

ment, read to callers by John Crane, the British consul in Jerusalem, said: "In view of the situation in the Middle East, the British government now advises that British nationals in Israel and the occupied territories should consider leaving if they have no essential reason for staying. This is a change from the advice issued earlier this week."

The British embassy in Tel Aviv had earlier advised British citizens to note embassy and consulate telephone numbers, listen to Israel radio, and keep in touch with civil defence authorities.

Britons planning to visit Israel have been urged to postpone their trips. Diplomats have advised Britons and Americans working in

the occupied territories to take extra care in case pro-Israeli Palestinians carry out terrorist acts. British diplomats said there were 4,500 British citizens in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. The figure excludes those who hold dual citizenship.

While many foreigners have been fleeing, Western journalists have been arriving in large numbers in anticipation of war. The American Colony Hotel in Arab east Jerusalem, favoured by journalists and VIPs, said it was "full to overflowing".

Defences remained: Yesterday offices and homes in Israel and the occupied territories began to prepare for war in earnest. Using plastic sheeting and yards of brown sticky tape — the kind used to seal parcels — people covered windows to stop glass flying after an explosion, and sealed windows, doors and air vents in selected upstairs rooms. Although the main conflict, if there is one, will be in the Gulf, few expect Israel to be left on the sidelines for long. So most people are following the sensible advice given on television and radio by the civil defence authorities: when the air-raid siren sounds, head for your sealed upper room rather than the bomb shelter in the basement. Poison gas sinks rather than rises.

Many people have started to carry around their small officially distributed cardboard boxes containing gas masks. The sealed upstairs rooms should be stocked with tinned food, bottled water, a radio, a torch and spare batteries. But the atmosphere is not one of panic. One Jerusalem bar is holding "last chance" parties today and tomorrow, while the Jerusalem Hilton offers chilled champagne, a suite and "a letter of esteem" for anyone booking in tomorrow.

"If Saddam Hussein sends a missile here on Tuesday, he may not find anyone at home," the newspaper *Hadashot* observed. "Everyone will be out having a good time."

### IRAN

## Tehran prepares to defend neutrality

FROM REUTERS IN TEHRAN

IRAN launched major military manoeuvres yesterday along its frontier with Iraq and in nearby Gulf waters, although President Rafsanjani's government has vowed to remain neutral if war breaks out in the Gulf.

Iranian military commanders made it clear that the ground and sea operations were aimed at defending the country's neutrality and to ensure that neither the Iraqis nor the alliance of Arab and Western forces massed near them would violate Iran's neutrality.

Any attack by the coalition against Iraq would be likely to come very close to Iran's southwestern border. Rahim Safavi, commander of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, said his troops would practise anti-chemical and anti-germ warfare defence and use Sam 2 and Sam 6 missiles.

Iranian leaders have kept to a political middle ground during the Gulf confrontation, but Tehran is adamant that Baghdad does not emerge with territorial gains after its invasion of Kuwait. It condemns Baghdad for its August 2 occupation of their small Gulf neighbour but in the same breath lashes out at what it describes as "arrogant" Western powers for military involvement in the region.

Iran repeated its demands for a full Iraqi withdrawal last week during a visit to Tehran by Izzat Ibrahim, vice-chairman of Iraq's Revolution Command Council. Tehran says it will not be satisfied to see Iraq partly withdraw and keep the Kuwaiti islands of Warbah and Bubiyan, which would give Iraq a strategic naval base on the Gulf. Sources close to the government said this would give Iraq too much control over the northern Gulf. Its naval facilities are now inland at Basra on the Shatt al-Arab waterway and Umm Qasr on the Khor al-Amaya inlet.

The Tehran newspaper *Jomhouri Islami* said on Saturday that, if Iraq were allowed to keep the islands, "this incorrect decision would be rejected by the Islamic Republic of Iran".

With memories of the 1980-88 war with Iraq still fresh, many Iranians are relieved that their country aims to stay out of any new conflict. "Everyone is relaxed, they are confident that (President) Rafsanjani will keep them out of it," a Tehran businessman said. "For the first time,

thank God, Iran will not be in this war," said another.

Iranian political sources said Iraq, which yielded to Iran's demands for a formal end to their war only after the invasion of Kuwait, has been urging Iran to sign a non-aggression pact. But they said Tehran was not ready to get close to Baghdad so soon. They said Baghdad's action was born of the need to pull troops back from its long frontier with Iran to face the threat against its armies in and around occupied Kuwait.

ISLAMABAD: Non-essential US embassy staff are expected to leave Pakistan within the next 24 hours, embassy officials said yesterday. The United States employs about 500 nationals in Pakistan. Officials expressed worries of a violent backlash from Muslim fundamentalists, should war break out in the Gulf. (AP)



Brothers in arms: children take home gas masks and filters after 80,000 were distributed in a Saudi security operation



Mine sweepers: British soldiers of the 23rd Armoured Engineer Regiment passing an Aardvark mine-clearing device in the Saudi desert. Its spinning chains set off mines buried in the sand

### BRITAIN

## Freed hostages join Kuwait exiles to back military action

By TOM GILES

DOZENS of British hostages freed from Iraq and Kuwait joined some 5,000 Kuwaiti exiles on a march through central London yesterday calling for President Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

In contrast to anti-war rallies across Britain on Saturday, the demonstrators voiced support for military action if Iraq fails to withdraw before the United Nations deadline tomorrow. Wearing yellow armbands to mark the plight of the 300,000 Kuwaitis still in the occupied emirate, they marched from the Kuwait embassy to Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park.

"We are marching in silence as there are no words to express our anger and disgust," said Ali Abdullah, of the Free Kuwait campaign, which organised the demonstration. "The message to Saddam Hussein is that we prefer peace and it is in his hands. I support military action after the deadline if it is the last resort."

His views were echoed by Britons who had been in hiding in Kuwait. Dean Talboys, aged 30, a computer consultant who had been given refuge by a Kuwaiti family for four months, said sanctions would never force Iraq's withdrawal. "Plenty of food was still getting through to people in Kuwait from Jordan and other Gulf states. Saddam only understands force and I am prepared to fight if conscripted."

Addressing the crowd in Hyde Park, estimated at 8,500, David

Howell, Conservative MP for Guildford and chairman of the Commons select committee on foreign affairs, said those who supported peace at any price would only encourage Iraq to commit future atrocities.

"The war began on August 2 and that war can be ended by Saddam Hussein if he wishes. But if he refuses to end it, we will have to use force to prevent even worse horrors... Those who call for peace at any price must realise that

the price could be, if Saddam Hussein stays in Kuwait, biological and nuclear catastrophe on an appalling scale," he said.

Kevin Burke, aged 38, a business consultant from the Irish Republic who was in Kuwait, said he remembered the "rape, murder, pillage and senseless looting" after the invasion. "Those of us who lived in Kuwait for many years hope to return home soon, but it will not be for some time unless strong action is taken."

## Field commanders expect immediate order to attack

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH and American commanders in the Gulf are expecting President Bush and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to order an attack on Iraqi forces promptly after tomorrow's deadline. The military argument is that an offensive must be launched as soon as possible to prevent the slightest breach in the 30-nation coalition against President Saddam Hussein.

If Saddam is contemplating some surprise move a few days after the deadline, as suggested by some Arab diplomats, it could be too late. Yesterday Tom King, the defence secretary, said that a conflict now seemed inevitable and that there could be substantial

casualties if it were a drawn-out affair.

The British units on the highest state of alert are the crews of the 70 Tornado GR1 and Jaguar strike aircraft, based in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. The crews have a list of targets which include some of the 35 principal Iraqi air bases, key command centres, missile sites and air defence batteries. Mr King said every effort would be made in air attacks on military targets to ensure accuracy and precision. In a BBC interview, he said: "That does not mean that there won't be mistakes. If there is a conflict, people will get killed. There is no secret about that."

## Woman doctor in naval front line

FROM CHRIS BOFFEY  
IN DUBAI

ANNALISA Judd, a Royal Navy doctor, will be at the forefront of any seaborne invasion of Kuwait.

The surgeon lieutenant is the only doctor with British mine-sweepers in the Gulf. As the five tiny plastic-hulled ships, known as the "Tupperwares", clear mines from the waters around the landing beaches, Lieutenant Judd, aged 25, will be nearby on their mother ship, HMS Herald.

In a war it is expected that Iraqi forces in Kuwait will be throwing everything they can at the flotilla of six British ships during their hazardous mine-clearing operation. Under fire, Lieutenant Judd will stabilise casualties before they are sent back to the main floating hospital, the auxiliary ship Argus.

The navy said yesterday: "Clearing the waters so the massive American troop-carrying vessels can get close enough is a vital job. The Tupperwares have been requested because of their proven skill, and where they go Lieutenant Judd goes, providing front-line medical help."

Lieutenant Judd, from Newbury in Berkshire, will look after 400 men in the minesweeping task group. Yesterday the Barts-trained medic said that so far the only injuries she had treated were sprains and cuts from sailors playing football and rugby during shore leave. She has given herself and all her patients vaccines against chemical weapons.

As Lieutenant Judd treated Able Seaman Bill Straughan, aged 38, for a sprain in the tiny surgery in HMS Herald, she appeared unconcerned about the dangers of working in the naval front line.

"Although this is the most challenging job I have ever had, I feel that we can deal with anything that is thrown at us," she said.

Lieutenant Judd, engaged to navy Lieutenant Simon Jenkins, says she has worked hard to fit in and be accepted by the men. Before her arrival, all the saucy pin-up pictures were taken down, but the first thing she did was to ask to have them back.

"They were OK by me. I do not want to change the sailors' lives and I do not complain about their language or behaviour," she said.

In fact, Lieutenant Judd, who joined the navy as a cadet, said she had her own pin-up of a "rather luscious lady, unlike me. I stick it to the door of the shower when I am in to warn the others."

One sailor, Kevin Shore, aged 30, said: "She is a bit of fresh air aboard. Some doctors are pretty tight-lipped but she likes to chat. She has the right attitude, and the lads, without being told, have moderated their language as a mark of their respect."

The five minesweepers in the Gulf are the *Cattistock*, *Hurworth*, *Atherstone*, *Dulverton* and *Ledbury*. They have plastic hulls to make them less vulnerable to magnetic mines.

LONDON: Recruiting offices have reported more enquiries from people wishing to join up, because of the Gulf conflict. One recruiting office had a fourfold increase (Peter Victor writes).

Warrant Officer Eddie Craven, head of recruitment in the Essex garrison town of Colchester, said: "They aren't disillusioned youngsters who can't get jobs in civvy street. We are getting doctors, nurses and chefs volunteering for action. They really want to rally round the flag and do something for their country."

Most of the would-be soldiers were teenagers, but older men and ex-servicemen were also coming forward.

## Bishop tells the Queen war would be a just one

By RUTH GLEDHILL, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS REPORTER

THE Queen was told yesterday that it would be a great evil if President Saddam Hussein was allowed "to get away with it" in the Gulf as church leaders united in a surge of prayer for peace.

The Rt Rev David Sheppard, Bishop of Liverpool, said: "Like many I believe that war is always evil, but there may be sometimes a still greater evil."

The Queen, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Edward and Queen

Elizabeth the Queen Mother heard the bishop say in his address at Sandringham parish church: "Terrible as war would be, I believe that there is a just cause. But war should always be in the last resort."

Dr Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, said peace could be endangered more by failure to confront Saddam's aggression when the only remaining means was force.

## Kuwait seen by Saddam as first stop on road to Palestine

MIDDLE EAST OBSERVER

PRESIDENT Saddam Hussein says that, in the event of war, he will attack Israel. Israel says it would retaliate. Egypt says retaliation would be Israel's right, but Syria gives a warning that an Israeli attack on any Arab country, even Iraq, would force it to withdraw from the anti-Saddam coalition to confront Israel.

The United States is trying hard to reassure Syria and to restrain Israel. The clashing national interests and perceived

opportunities have the potential to transform the region's map.

We can rely on Saddam to carry out his threat. Should it come to war, he would want to see an immediate wedge driven between the Arab members of the multinational force and Western allies, and he would want Arab nationalists and Muslim fundamentalists pouring on to the streets everywhere to hail him as their champion. An attack on Israel would strengthen his

claim that the road to Palestine passed through Kuwait.

The difficulty for him is that he did not delay his Kuwaiti adventure until the labours of 2,000 scientists working on his nuclear programme had borne fruit. Today, according to a former ally, Field Marshal Abu Ghazala of Egypt, the Soviet Scud missiles, even if armed with chemical warheads, could inflict only minimal damage on Israel, and Iraq's air force would be shot

down by Israel's superior equipment and pilots before it could approach that country. This leaves Saddam only the use of ground troops, sent through friendly Jordan.

Israel's leaders have warned Jordan not to allow any such use of its territory by Saddam, but it is generally recognised that King Hussein, 70 per cent of whose subjects regard themselves as Palestinians, would be powerless to stop Saddam. Instead, he has

reinforced his troops at the Israel frontier with new tanks.

What remains unknown is whether Israel might secretly welcome such an eventuality. There is a rumour in Jerusalem that the government has examined the possibility of invading Jordan to overthrow King Hussein and to proclaim the country the Palestinian state the world demands.

Hazhir Teimourian



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THE TIMES MONDAY JANUARY 14 1991

FRANCE

## Paris sounds Arab opinion in last-ditch peace drive

By Philip Jacobson

FRANCE is actively considering a last-ditch initiative to avert a Gulf war if the mission to Baghdad by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the United Nations secretary-general, ends in failure.

Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, has spent the last weekend before the deadline expires canvassing the degree of support to be expected from friendly Arab governments, while speculation continues that President Mitterrand may offer to travel to the Iraqi capital.

At the same time, the final moves to put France on a war footing have been worked out, with a score of military hospitals preparing to receive battle casualties. An extraordinary session of

both houses of the French parliament on Thursday is expected to give Mitterrand formal powers to order troops into action.

But as the final hours tick away, the argument persists about the true degree of French commitment to defeating President Saddam Hussein. The debate essentially boils down to this: will France fight if the crunch comes?

French officials, confronted with that blunt and - for them - offensive question, are entitled to tell critics to look at the record. France has backed every United Nations Security Council resolution on Kuwait; has repeated time after time that Saddam must withdraw completely from Kuwait; and has said publicly and forcefully there can be no going back on tomorrow's deadline.

France has about 10,000 men in Saudi Arabia, the third largest Western contingent there.

As for the will to fight, foreign correspondents find French troops in the desert fit and motivated, well-trained and well-equipped. Back in Paris, with opinion polls showing that up to 80 per cent of the public opposes war, Mitterrand appears to accept that sitting tight while the allies shed their blood is not a realistic option. At his latest Gulf press conference, musing on the "ultimate interests" of France, he quoted Winston Churchill: "To take refuge in dishonour in order to have peace sometimes leads in the end to dishonour and war."

At the heart of things, French and foreign observers agree, is Mitterrand's determination to conduct independent efforts to achieve peace, alongside those of the United Nations and the European Community.

Seen from across the political spectrum in Paris, America has effectively hijacked allied diplomacy, with Downing Street tagging meekly along behind the White House. For the Elysée Palace, the Bush administration's unending opposition to an international conference on the Middle East - the Palestinian issue top of the agenda - represents a diplomatic straitjacket.

Nor do the French accept blame for the humiliations endured by the European Community at Iraqi hands. Officials argue that, with Britain trailing behind Uncle Sam, there never was a ghost of a chance that the Twelve could mount an effective initiative.

ISRAEL

## US appeal to lie low rejected by Shamir

From Richard Owen in Jerusalem

YITZHAK Shamir, the Israeli prime minister, insisted yesterday that it was up to Israel to decide when and how to defend itself in the event of an attack by Iraq. His statement came against the background of a reported White House plea to Jerusalem to keep out of any coming conflict in the Gulf and rely on America for defence.

"That is how it has always been, and that is the way it will be," Mr Shamir told the Israeli cabinet. Moshe Arens, the defence minister, said during a visit to an air force base in northern Israel: "If Israel is attacked, it will respond."

Both Mr Shamir and Mr Arens held talks at the weekend with Lawrence Eagleburger, the Deputy Secretary of State. Both Israeli and American officials refused to comment on the discussions. But American press reports said Mr Eagleburger had been sent by President Bush to urge Israel to stay out of the coming war on the grounds that Washington had the means to protect Israel adequately against any Iraqi attack.

Asked if the United States had indeed made such an approach, Ehud Olmert, the health minister, who is close to Mr Shamir, said: "Whether or not there was a US request is irrelevant. We will retaliate if attacked. This is something that must be understood. We do not expect anyone to fight for us, we do not want anyone to protect us."

President Saddam Hussein has repeatedly threatened to draw Israel into any war if the US-led forces in the Gulf go on the offensive. Israeli leaders fear that Iraq may even launch a pre-emptive strike against Israel at any moment to focus attention on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

On Saturday, during a visit to Damascus by James Baker, the US Secretary of State, Farouk al-Shara, his Syrian counterpart, said Syria could not accept any Israeli intervention in the war. Israeli officials yesterday refused to respond to this statement, saying that there had been no official communication of the Syrian view to Israel. But Israeli officials said they were "encouraged" by the views of President Mubarak of Egypt, who in contrast to Syria said that, if Iraq did strike at Israel, Jerusalem clearly had the right to retaliate.

The main American fear is that, if Israel is drawn into the conflict, the Arab-American alliance against Iraq will be undermined.



Eleventh-hour mission: Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the UN secretary-general, being met by Tariq Aziz, Iraqi foreign minister, right, on arriving in Baghdad at the weekend for what was seen as the last attempt to avert war in talks with President Saddam Hussein

UNITED STATES

## Congress gives president its go-ahead for an offensive

From Reuters in Washington

THE US Congress authorised President Bush to wage war in the Gulf as early as Wednesday to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, but the approval came in the closest Senate war vote in American history.

The Senate on Saturday approved the war authority by only five votes, 52-47, in a packed chamber. The House of Representatives approved it by a considerably wider margin, 250-183.

Mr Bush and his backers in Congress said the authorisation was the surest way to avert war because it showed President Saddam Hussein that he faces devastating war if he does not leave Kuwait peacefully. "This clear expression of the Congress represents the last best chance for peace," Mr Bush said. Stephen Solarz, the Democrat representative, said: "By confronting Saddam Hussein with a choice between leaving and living or staying and dying, (this) represents the last, best chance for peace."

But opponents said Mr Bush and Congress were rushing into an unwise and unnecessary war. "President Bush lit the fuse of war

on November 8, and the fuse has been burning steadily for the past two months," said Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy. "The Middle East may explode in war unless the Senate puts out the fuse."

The opponents pressed instead for approval of resolutions, supported by Democratic leaders, that would have urged President Bush to give economic sanctions more time to work to force Iraq from Kuwait peacefully, before asking Congress for war authority. Those resolutions were rejected 53-46 in the Senate, and 250-183 in the House.

The resolution that Congress approved instead authorised Mr Bush to use American military forces to carry out UN resolutions giving Saddam until midnight of Tuesday to leave Kuwait or risk war with the US-led coalition aligned against him. Mr Bush said at a news conference that the resolution did not make war inevitable, but instead was "the last, best hope for peace."

But the five-vote Senate margin gave the president the war authority by the narrowest Senate

war vote, less than the Senate's 19-13 approval of the 1812 war against England.

Since then, congressional war votes have been overwhelming, with only one vote in the House of Representatives against the second world war. Later the Senate approved 88-2 and the House approved 416-0 the Tonkin Gulf resolution interpreted by then President Johnson as authorisation for the Vietnam war. The Tonkin Gulf resolution was clearly one reason for the close Senate vote on Saturday. Many opponents said the Vietnam war must not be repeated in the Middle East.

President Bush's supporters said after a meeting with him earlier in the week that he would be satisfied to win in the Senate by a single vote.

One of the key provisions of the joint resolution that was adopted states that at least once every 60 days the president shall submit to Congress a summary on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council in response to Iraq's aggression.

## War of words before US vote

VIEWS from the floor of Congress in Washington before voting for the use of force in the Gulf.

Ron Dellums, D, California, House of Representatives: "Be neither fool nor knave for brilliant oratory, magnificent analyses notwithstanding. The decision we are about to take is tantamount to a declaration of war."

Joseph Biden, D, Delaware, Senate: "Only one question must be answered at this historic moment and that is what vital interest of the United States of America justifies sending Americans to their death in the sands of the Saudi Arabian peninsula, no matter what slight to our national pride or prestige have occurred, nor what emotional crisis may have developed among our leaders as a consequence of anger and frustration and... not... whether a letter was left on a table."

Robert Dole, R, Kansas, Senate minority leader: "I'm not certain any of us can predict with certainty, if there should be a conflict, how many lives would be lost, how much it would cost and how long would it last. Our best chance for peace... (is) to strengthen the president's hand in every way that we can. I'm not concerned about the message we send to the White House. I'm more concerned about the message we send to Saddam Hussein... Last time I looked, he was the real villain in this piece."

Albert Gore, D, Tennessee, Senate: "There is much to regret at this point. Had this president and his predecessor not grossly misunderstood Saddam Hussein, we might have taken effective action against him sooner."

Stephen Solarz, D, New York, House of Representatives: "Right after Nazi Germany invaded Poland, the British parliament met to consider what to do. And after Prime Minister Chamberlain gave a rather halting defence of government policy, the leader of the Labour Party opposition took the floor and said, 'Speaking for Labour' - at which point one of the back bench shouted out, 'Speak for England!' This afternoon, the Congress of the United States spoke for America."

(Later) "The great lesson of our time is that evil still exists."

George Mitchell, D, Maine, Senate majority leader: "The policy of continuing international diplomacy and economic pressure against Iraq offers the best hope now for achieving our common objective at the lowest cost of lives and treasure."



Voice of hope: Arafat telling reporters in Baghdad yesterday, after meeting Pérez de Cuéllar, that there would be no war

## Gadaffi joins efforts to stave off conflict

From Michael Theodorou in Nicosia

AS Arab leaders made last-minute appeals to President Saddam Hussein and urged him to pull out of Kuwait, no concrete Arab initiative emerged to stop the drift to war.

In fact, the Arab world has largely acknowledged that it alone could not avert war. Only the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Tunisia and Libya were involved in frantic last-ditch diplomacy.

Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, sounded an optimistic note, asserting confidently that "there will not be a war" after talks in Baghdad with the United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. But he was speaking before Saddam again said Kuwait would remain Iraqi.

Colonel Gadaffi, the Libyan leader, also joined the would-be Arab peacekeepers by sending his deputy, Major Abdul-Salam Jalloud, to Iraq, Jordan and Iran. He threw his weight behind President Assad's appeal, which he said on Libyan radio, showed Syria's "unmistakable pan-Arab commitment". Last week Colonel Gadaffi

said Libya would fight alongside Egypt if war broke out. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia came in for a blistering Iraqi attack yesterday after he made a last-minute appeal to Saddam to pull out of Kuwait.

But in reply Iraq's leading newspaper, *al-Thawra*, warned King Fahd that his would be the first head to roll if war erupted in the Gulf. "The heads of agents and traitors will be torn apart and flying as punishment for their disgraceful acts," *al-Thawra* said.

On Saturday night King Fahd urged Saddam to let "wisdom and reason" prevail. "Saudi Arabia does not wish to see a war at all. The solution is in the hands of all men. Saddam Hussein can today tell the Iraqi army to withdraw and they will withdraw."

The king assured the Iraqi leader he would not lose face by withdrawing. "On the contrary, if he seeks glory, if he wants to go down in history, he has a chance."

Out of Iraq's main Arab opponents, President Mubarak of Egypt was the only one this weekend not to appeal to Saddam.

## Iraq's future is at stake; the choice is yours, Bush tells Saddam

THE following letter was refused by Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister, when James Baker, the American Secretary of State, asked him to deliver it to Baghdad. Mr Aziz said it contained language inappropriate for correspondence between two heads of state. The White House released the text at the weekend after initially refusing to, saying that many segments already had been quoted.

Mr President: We stand today at the brink of war between Iraq and the world. This is a war that began with your invasion of Kuwait; this is a war that can be ended only by Iraq's full and unconditional compliance with UN Security Council resolution 678.

I am writing you now, directly, because what is at stake demands that no opportunity be lost to that no opportunity be a certain avoid what would be a certain calamity for the people of Iraq. I am writing, as well, because it is an writing, as well, because it is

Text of the undelivered letter that President Bush wrote to Saddam Hussein on January 5

is and what Iraq faces as a result.

I am not in a position to judge whether this impression is correct; what I can do, though, is try in this letter to reinforce what Secretary of State Baker told your foreign minister and eliminate any uncertainty or ambiguity that might exist in your mind about where we stand and what we are prepared to do.

The international community is united in its call for Iraq to leave all of Kuwait without condition and without further delay. This is not simply the policy of the United States; it is the position of the world community as expressed in no less than 12 security council resolutions.

We prefer a peaceful outcome. However, anything less than full compliance with UN Security

predecessors is unacceptable.

There can be no reward for aggression. Nor will there be any negotiation. Principle cannot be compromised. However, by its full compliance, Iraq will gain the opportunity to rejoin the international community.

More immediately, the Iraqi military establishment will escape destruction. But unless you withdraw from Kuwait completely and without condition, you will lose more than Kuwait.

What is at issue here is not the future of Kuwait - it will be free, its government will be restored - but rather the future of Iraq. This choice is yours to make.

The United States will not be separated from its coalition partners. Twelve Security Council resolutions, 28 countries and

more than 100 governments complying with sanctions - all highlight the fact that it is not Iraq against the United States, but Iraq against the world.

That most Arab and Muslim countries are arrayed against you as well should reinforce what I am saying. Iraq cannot and will not be able to hold on to Kuwait or exact a price for leaving.

You may be tempted to find solace in the diversity of opinion that is American democracy. You should resist any such temptation. Diversity ought not to be confused with division. Nor should you underestimate, as others have before you, America's will.

Iraq is already feeling the effects of the sanctions mandated by the United Nations. Should war come, it will be a far greater tragedy for you and your country. Let me state, too, that the United States will not tolerate the use of chemical or biological

weapons. Further, you will be held directly responsible for terrorist actions against any member of the coalition.

The American people would demand the strongest possible response. You and your country will pay a terrible price if you order unconscionable acts of this sort.

I write this letter not to threaten, but to inform. I do so with no sense of satisfaction, for the people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Iraq.

Mr President, UN Security Council resolution 678 establishes the period before January 15 of this year as a "pause of good will" so that this crisis may end without further violence.

Whether this pause is used as intended, or merely becomes a prelude to further violence, is in your hands, and yours alone. I hope you weigh your choice carefully and choose wisely, for

## Hurd lauds stay-put Britons

From Michael Knipe in Amman

BRITISH expatriates in the Gulf were praised yesterday by Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, for staying at their jobs despite the threat of war.

In his trip to Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, Mr Hurd said he had found the British in a steady frame of mind. He was speaking in Abu Dhabi a day after he had directed the Foreign Office to issue new advice on whether Britons should stay in Algeria, Israel, Jordan and Yemen.

In Jordan and Yemen, all Britons were advised to leave; in Algeria, British dependants were advised to leave and those remaining to keep a low profile; and Britons in Israel were advised to

BEST OF THE  
WORLD NEWS

## Ten held after township killings

From Ray Kennedy in Johannesburg

TEN people, including a woman, have been arrested after 35 mourners were killed at an African National Congress funeral vigil in Sebokeng township, south of Johannesburg, early on Saturday.

The speedy police action came as Nelson Mandela, the ANC vice-president, and Walter Sisulu, the organisation's internal leader, visited the township and recrimination intensified over ANC claims that the police were warned of a possible attack but did nothing. Police said men had been sent but left because ANC officials objected to their presence near the vigil for Christoffel Mpeleli Nangembele, an ANC activist, who was found strangled.

Adriaan Vlok, the minister of law and order, said several AK47 assault rifles had been seized and that ballistic tests on one weapon linked it to the attack, in which at least 50 people were wounded.

The ANC has threatened to resume its armed struggle if the violence in South Africa is not curbed.

## Branson flight

Tokyo - Richard Branson, the British millionaire, will launch his attempt to make a record-breaking balloon crossing of the Pacific tomorrow, and says he hopes it will become a voyage for peace. Mr Branson said he and Per Lindstrand, his Swedish partner, were scheduled to take off from southern Japan between 3am and 4am for the longest journey in a hot-air balloon. (Reuters)

## Gadaffi thanked

Brussels - The Belgian government has thanked Colonel Gadaffi, the Libyan leader, and President Mubarak of Egypt for their role in the release of four Belgian hostages this weekend. The Houtekins family returned to Belgium on Saturday, almost four years after being seized on board a yacht cruising in the eastern Mediterranean with eight French and Belgian passengers. (AFP)

## Soares favoured

Lisbon - President Mario Soares of Portugal seems certain of reelection in yesterday's polls, after an electoral campaign overshadowed by events in the Gulf and the lack of a heavyweight opponent. Opinion polls said at least 60 per cent of Portugal's eight million voters favoured giving the popular Socialist a second five-year term in a largely ceremonial and advisory post. (Reuters)

## Dhaka jail deal

Dhaka - Tens of thousands of Bangladeshi prisoners will be released early in an attempt to end two weeks of prison unrest. Rebel inmates have been demanding the release of those sentenced by military courts set up by former President Ershad. Under the plan, those serving prison terms of two years or less and inmates below the age of 16 or over 60 would be freed. Life terms would be cut by a third. (Reuters)

## Somali fighting

Nairobi - Clashes continued overnight in the centre of Mogadishu, the Somali capital, as government forces fought rebels of the United Somali Congress, diplomats said. Gunfire was heard in several parts of the city, the sources said, but they were unable to pinpoint the exact location of the fighting. Italian aircraft evacuated 230 people, including the Italian ambassador. (AFP)

## Plea to rebels

Maputo - The United States has urged Mozambican rebels to stop violating a partial ceasefire agreement reached with the government. Herman Cohen, the Assistant US Secretary of State for African affairs, said his country was disappointed by "the established fact" that Renamo, the Mozambique National Resistance, had violated a December 1 agreement. (AP)

## Five die in crash

Rio de Janeiro - A Lear jet crashed in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, killing all five people on board, including the mayors of two small cities. The aircraft was flying from Brasília when it crashed outside Belo Horizonte, Brazil's third largest city. The cause of the crash is not yet known but heavy rain could have been a factor. (Reuters)

## US bases offer

Manila - Washington wants to keep both Clark airbase and Subic naval base here for up to 12 more years, but would pull out its troops from the Philippines by 1996 if Manila so desired, Richard Armitage, the chief US negotiator,



# History to the rescue

Peter Stothard

Washington

Not even the most studied statesmanlike poses by the president, the most serious speeches by senators or the most determined work by diplomats can disguise the truth that America is now tumbling towards war.

More than one million armed men are waiting in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait for the expiration of the United Nations deadline tomorrow night. All are subject to the pushes and shoves of events as far apart as San Francisco and the Baltic. But George Bush is the man who must set the war machines moving and "for every one factor pressing him to patience there are at least five in favour of a rapid strike", a senior American government official conceded yesterday.

The first is the weakness of the coalition which, officials accept, is now kept together mainly by its immediate momentum. The second is the growing domestic opposition. The third is the morale of the American forces, whom James Baker, the Secretary of State, put on virtual action stations only a few days ago. The fourth is the phasing of the moon, which, six days after the deadline has passed, will begin to brighten the attackers' path through the Middle Eastern skies.

The final factor is the deadline itself. This was opposed last month by Mr. Thatcher, among others, precisely because it would force Britain and America into war after January 15 or leave them looking foolish and afraid.

There is little room now for significant argument. This week-end's congressional debate on the president's power to use force was a solemn affair. Mostly undramatic, and often purely self-serving, the speeches gripped television and radio audiences. A number of normally astute and distinguished men will say in future that they made the speech of their lives. And some of them did.

The whole debate, however, was chiefly impressive in the way of academic treatises — by its breadth of scope and detail of citations. Politicians who normally use the word history to mean waste-paper basket ("that's history" means "that's a problem I can forget") spent three days dredging carefully through the past.

Audiences across the country heard lectures on the perils of appeasement that went well beyond the common superficialities. The shades of Castlereagh and the Kaiser were invoked to show the dangers for a warring nation of being as divided as America was in 1812, and as a reminder of the responsibilities of world leadership. Senator Wyche Fowler of Georgia read from Thucydides' account of the debate in Athens over the Sicilian expedition in 415 BC in which the triumph of

impatience over caution led to the collapse of the first democracy.

By the time the debate was over, the president had his mandate. But the search for comfortable precedent had also succeeded in showing how isolated were the slush-bound debating chambers. Congress was anxious to show that it had been consulted, that it had been taken seriously and that it had performed in a way that future scholars would approve. (What better way to appeal to tomorrow's historians than to quote amply from those of yesterday?) But, as the leading critic of the administration, Senator Sam Nunn, admitted, his resolution to withhold support from the president was doomed before the debate began. The best historical analogy was that the Rubicon had already been crossed.

President Bush professed a lack of exhilaration afterwards, as well he might. Domestic support is now formal, but it is not heartfelt. The weekend denunciations from new anti-war leaders, such as Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota, will resound more sharply in the streets than will Senator Robert Dole's dissertation on the lessons of Munich. A big protest demonstration is planned for Washington on Saturday.

International support for Operation Desert Shield is routinely termed fragile. The Soviet reaction in the Baltic states, with its echoes of Moscow's march against Hungary under cover of the Suez crisis in November 1956, has sent State Department officials scurrying for a new adjective. "Febrile" was one suggestion yesterday, representing the sense of real crisis and uncertainty. Israel has allegedly agreed to "absorb" a first strike from Iraq — a euphemism that will require arduous American persuasion to maintain. Although the prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, may have been assured that the air-space between Baghdad and Tel Aviv can be kept clear of Saddam Hussein's missiles, the mood in the Likud government is reported to be jittery.

On his visit to Syria, Mr. Baker has been able to report only bad news. President Assad told him categorically that it wanted a joint Syrian-Iraqi campaign against Israel. He gave no indication that his 15,000 troops in Saudi Arabia would fight to regain Kuwait, still less that they would fight on the American side if Israel was drawn into the conflict.

As the hours tick by to the deadline, Mr. Bush seems to his detractors like a man falling downstairs. To his admirers, he is a leader who has carefully created a war machine, who has purposefully pushed it off the brink, and who will command it as well as anyone can. Neither side sees much chance of a soft landing.

...and moreover

## MATTHEW PARRIS

They say that for some time after toes have been still apparently conscious of them, sure they are still there. Every dawn brings, afresh, the shock of finding them missing.

Coming back to Britain from Ecuador to find your Mrs Thatcher missing is similar. I knew she had gone, of course. She had gone before I left. Had you bumped into me in Guayaquil and asked me to name the prime minister of the United Kingdom, I should have replied, "Mrs Thatcher... oops, John Major." The information was there, in my head.

But not in my heart. In the Andes I would wave jauntily to South American Indians, buoyed by the thought: "I bet you wish you had Mrs Thatcher as your prime minister!" They say bereavement is a trauma with which it takes a person years to come to terms. Everybody has been saying, "Poor Mrs Thatcher! However well she got used to the idea?" But what about me? How do you think I feel? For three years I have made my living out of being rude about her; but always with the certainty in the back of my mind that after I had written my latest impertinence, the newspaper had published it, and readers had carried out the cat litter on it, somehow she would still be there.

To many, it never really sank in that the woman they loved to rail against was other than invincible and perpetual. Mr. Kinnoch's later lamentations of Job against the Almighty. So how are we to cope? To cope, I mean, not with the business of government — Mr. Major seems perfectly competent to do that — but with the wrench to our deeply rooted mental habits?

I remember in 1979 hearing a radio commentator say, "The prime minister picked up her handbag", and feeling (as men have felt whenever a woman has broken new ground) that it simply did not sound natural, and supposing the feeling to be some kind of an argument.

But returning to England from South America I heard a

commentator say, "The prime minister removed his tie", and that didn't sound natural either. It struck me that "she" will never again sound so wrong with "prime minister", and this small mental step is as valuable as quite a lot of legislation.

The airline that flew me to Ecuador was appalling. It lost my luggage, lost some of the passengers, and failed to land at the right airport. Cabin crew were curt, and the service perfunctory. This was a nationalised company. As the air hostess declined, for the third time, to hear my plea for coffee, I found myself muttering under my breath: "If you were British, Mrs Thatcher would privatise you. That would buck your ideas up..." Ah, if only! Maybe once we get to know her successor, we will as naturally mutter, "Mr Major will sort you out", but somehow it doesn't yet have the same ring.

Ecuador is one of the safer, cleaner, better-run Andean countries, but even there one meets a degree of disorganisation that would upset some Europeans. The rate of inflation, said our guide, was "only 50 per cent — much better than over the border in Peru, where it has been more than 1,000 per cent". In an instant, I was wondering whether Mrs Thatcher could take a winter break from Downing Street and rule Ecuador in the mornings and Peru in the afternoons — spending the weekends defeating the drug barons in Colombia. She might even sort out Venezuela before breakfast... but no, she has quit ruling anyone, even us. Silly of me to forget.

And, as my plane touches down at Heathrow, I find we are on the brink of war. Mentally, one gropes for nanny's hand. No hand. No nanny.

They say Galtieri did not believe we would attack, or he himself would never have invaded the Falklands. You and I know that Bush and Major are as determined as their predecessors. But does Saddam Hussein know that? The phrase alone, "Reagan and Thatcher", has a kind of manic certainty. Has? Sorry. Had.

# Mary Dejevsky in Moscow sees the Vilnius killings as a further step to Soviet disintegration

## Gorbachev's finger on the trigger?

On Saturday, the Soviet Union's newly enhanced executive body, the Federation Council, promised to "tackle the crisis in Lithuania by political means" and agreed to send a fact-finding delegation to Vilnius. President Gorbachev was in the chair. The same evening, the Soviet parliament was told that rumours about the leadership pursuing a military solution were "pure fabrication".

Before the night was out, at least 13 people had been killed and more than 100 injured in a battle for the main broadcasting station in Vilnius. Many of the casualties had been crushed by tanks; others had been shot.

This bloody turn of events poses the question: what did Gorbachev know, and when did he know it? Whatever the hedging and the explanations that may be offered in coming days, there are only two possible answers. Either he knew in advance, in which case the decision over which he presided was a cynical manoeuvre to disguise his intentions, or he did not know, in which case control of the country, particularly of its armed forces, has slipped from his grasp.

Either answer should stir fear and trepidation, both among the Soviet people and abroad. Here is

a country of nearly 300 million people, a nuclear power unable to feed itself, whose leaders have decided to rule by terror or who have lost control.

Many Russians on the reformist wing feel instinctively that Gorbachev not only knew but ordered the deployment of troops, sanctioning the use of arms if necessary. For nearly a year he has been visibly angered by the Lithuanian leaders' reluctance to compromise over independence.

Liberals with long experience of Soviet manipulation and lies argue that Gorbachev could not have made his way through the system without mastering the same techniques better than anyone else. Yet Gorbachev is on record as saying that he opposes the use of force to solve conflicts, whether in the Gulf, in Eastern Europe or at home. In practice, too, Gorbachev emerges as a compromiser, a setter-up of conciliation councils, a demander of dialogue.

Less hard-bitten liberals would argue that Gorbachev would sanction the use of armed force against civilians only if he felt his own position was threatened — not, they would add, because he values his own person so highly but because of the value he attaches to his ideal of making the So-

viet Union a "normal" country. Rumours have flown for months that his position was indeed threatened, by the military, or parts of it. Hence, it is said, his sudden disenchantment with a radical economic reform programme that he had just endorsed, the cancellation of his Nobel peace prize trip in favour of a Communist party central committee meeting, and the sacrifice of two reformist ministers, Vadim Bakatin and Eduard Shevardnadze.

Some also see the widespread shortages as sabotage by those with control over levers of local power. Similar shortages were reported before the fall of Khrushchev; after he went, it is said, the shops were miraculously restocked.

If Gorbachev did act over Lithuania, either to save himself or his ideal, he is now seriously weakened. Wittingly or not, he has allowed himself to be taken hostage by his army. The compromises required to stay in power have largely undone five years of steadily successful foreign diplomacy. He can now expect little help from outside, even though that help may be more necessary to him now than at any time before.

Constitutionally, Gorbachev is damned by the very legislation he

has initiated. Two armed assaults, with chemicals on the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, in April 1989, and with tanks a year ago in Baku, brought calls for the chain of command to be clarified and accountability defined.

The shadowy defence council became a state rather than party body. A law on states of emergency limited the president's freedom to deploy troops without parliamentary approval. The role of the interior ministry troops — who manned the front line in Vilnius, as in the other two incidents — was subjected to parliamentary scrutiny. Yet the processes that led to the use of force in Lithuania are no clearer than in the past, and in one crucial respect more murky. The military has not spoken with one voice.

The defence minister, Marshal Dmitri Yazov, ordered the deployment of paratroops with the stated aim of rounding up draft-dodgers and deserters in five republics. His order came only a day after the chief of staff, Mikhail Moiseyev, had reportedly promised Latvian leaders that the number of troops in the Baltic would not be increased, and might be reduced.

Yesterday, the official Tass news agency reported that the operation "to enforce observance of Soviet

law" in Lithuania was being carried out by interior ministry troops, who are in principle nothing to do with the military high command. Marshal Yazov and his paratroops were specifically reported to be running a separate operation to apprehend draft dodgers. On whose orders and on what instructions the interior ministry troops had been deployed has not been made clear.

At best, there has been a confusion of responsibility: at worst, a deliberate manoeuvre allowing the interior ministry to act under cover of a more restricted defence ministry order. Yesterday, this confusion was compounded by a statement from the Estonian leadership to the effect that the Baltic commander was refusing to honour a defence ministry undertaking that the deployment of paratroops should await the outcome of joint talks.

These factors suggest a scenario that combines instructions from Gorbachev with the central leadership's loss of control. Those to whom a modicum of power remains, it may be surmised, are trying by force to rescue what fragments of control they can. Lithuania is their first victim, but its torment may herald the beginning of the end of Soviet power.

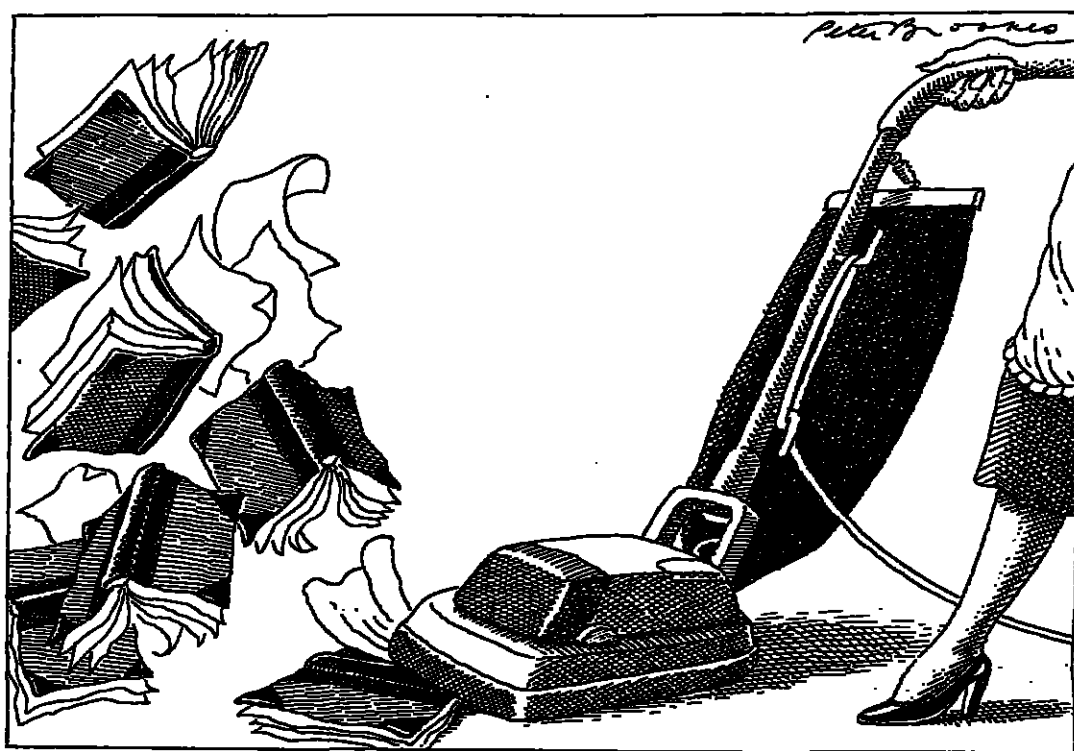
Bernard Levin tells of a theft from the Hoover Institution that could vitiate the diaries of a man closely involved in central Europe's years of upheaval

My compliments to Professor Ion Patroiu, and I beg to inform him that he is a liar and a thief. My readers can hardly accuse me of starting with ambiguity; they may, however, wonder what lies behind my lack of it. To explain, I must go back a good many years.

Raoul Bossy was a Romanian diplomat, born in 1894 and holding countless positions of trust during an illustrious career. In 1943, he resigned his posts, unwilling to serve Hitler or Stalin, left alone both, and never returned to Romania. He died in 1975.

Throughout his diplomatic life he kept a diary, when he ceased to record the vicissitudes of his work and life (shortly after the end of his career) it filled 11 manuscript volumes. By the nature of his postings, his meetings, his conversations, his reports, his acquaintance and his central position in the future span from the end of the first world war to the middle of the second, this daily record of all the hopes and tragedies of Europe, observed as the storm gathered and broke, must constitute a huge and fascinating well of modern history.

His family had long realised the significance of the diary, and intended to publish it in due course. Against that day, the volumes were microfilmed and a copy deposited (by two instalments, in 1983 and 1985 respectively) in the archives of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, which is a part of



Stanford University in California. It must be stressed that the Hoover is a body of the greatest integrity; its publications (it specialises in Eastern European matters) are invariably of the most meticulous scholarship. Would that some other departments of the Institution were equally careful.

Under the deed of gift to the Hoover (and similarly to the British Library), Bossy's widow stipulated that although the microfilms were to be available for research, none of the diaries' contents could be published without permission. The precise words were: "I hereby expressly exclude from my gift and retain for myself and my heirs the entire copyright interest, including the right of first publication and the right to make and give copies..."

In his acknowledgement, the Hoover archivist, Charles Palm, assured the Bossys that "these volumes will be maintained according to the deed of gift". Little while the question of giving another microfilm copy of the diary to the French Foreign Office

arose, the Hoover's director of archives, Mr. Milorad Drachovitch, rammed home the principles on which deposited work is held, thus: "Access to our materials depends on the donor. If no restrictions are placed on collections, they are open to all who wish to see them. Of course, we advise users of the copyright status of materials in our custody. In your case, since you wish to retain publication rights, users would have to get permission from you for publication purposes."

Enter Professor Patroiu, the liar and thief of my introduction; remember that all this was in the mid-1980s, when Romania was still in the hideous grip of Ceausescu, and Patroiu worked in the propaganda section of the central committee of the Romanian Communist party — a fact that defines him with sufficient exactitude. Late in September 1985, and again early in 1986, Patroiu registered at the Hoover Institution, asking to see the microfilm of the Bossy diary, and signed an undertaking that he would abide by all the rules and

stipulations of the Hoover and the request. Permission was granted; the Hoover claims that it warned him about the use of copyright matter, but a fat lot of good such a warning would have been, in view of the almost incredible fact that it gave him permission to take and publish 5 per cent of the material, apparently because that is the Hoover's practice, though the deed of gift absolutely banned any publication whatever without the family's permission — a ban twice recorded in writing by the Hoover.

Now it gets worse. Patroiu, using the Hoover's machines, took copies of the whole of the Bossy diary. Considering that it consisted of 11 manuscript books, the thief must have been operating the copier for hour after hour, if not day after day, without anyone querying what was going on. (The Hoover's photocopies bear a warning about copyright material, and that, it seems, is as far as supervision goes.)

Having stolen the entire copy-right archive, Patroiu hastened home and had the impudence to

ask the family for permission to publish; they refused such permission for any part whatever of the material. Patroiu acknowledged receipt of the letter of refusal, then proceeded, with two fellow-conspirators, on a massive course of publication. By now, so much has been published and distributed that the value and interest of the diaries must have been greatly diminished.

It was the Bossy family who discovered what had happened to their property, so rashly entrusted to the Hoover. When they learned of the theft, they made vigorous representations to the Hoover, but did not even get the courtesy of a reply for a month, and then only after a follow-up letter.

The correspondence from the Hoover to the Bossy family, copies of which I have, begins feebly and gets more so. Its officials do bestir themselves to write to Patroiu, with such terrifying accusations as "it appears that you violated our copying policy" (followed by "If I have misunderstood the facts, please let me know..."). For some time, the Hoover denied responsibility; happily, the Hoover official now assigned to deal with the matter has been writing letters far more sensible and conciliatory than those of his colleagues, and it looks as though a reasonable agreement on compensation will be arrived at.

I hope so. There is nothing to do about the Romanian thief; the perversion of the Romanian uprising has led to a regime not very much better than Ceausescu's dreadful rule, and it is unlikely that redress will be forthcoming from that quarter. But the Hoover Institution is one of the most famous, exemplary and honourably run academic bodies in the world; in this business, its scholarship is untouched, but the sad negligence that has made possible the theft of the Bossy's treasure will stain its name if that serious mistake is not put right.

I hope to hear that an amicable agreement has been achieved which leaves the Bossy family properly compensated and the good name of the Hoover unblemished.

## Betjeman's wild oats

Nearly seven years after his death, a previously unknown poem by John Betjeman has come to light. Authenticated by Betjeman scholars, it offers an insight into a rarer personality than that displayed in his more familiar works.

The untitled, 34-line poem was written when Betjeman was an undergraduate at Oxford in the 1920s and begins:

Neville stogged with sweets  
Lay by the pavy half awake  
And as he lay he felt the squeeze  
Of something hard above  
his knees...

The remaining lines, describing a homosexual encounter, are better left unprinted here.

According to the first volume of Boris Hillier's biography of Betjeman, it was at about this time that the future Poet Laureate had a fling with W.H. Auden, during which Auden's servant discovered them together and had to be bribed £5 to keep quiet. Afterwards Auden claimed the experience was not worth the fever.

The poem was found in an old book and has since been sold, for a four-figure sum, to an anonymous private collector by London book dealer R.A. Gekoski. "It turned up with some other material not connected with Betjeman," says Peter Selley of Gekoski's. "We checked the handwriting and it has been confirmed as Betjeman's."

The poem has aroused the keen interest of Betjeman's friend and publisher, Jock Murray. "It could be as exciting as finding a new

letter from Lord Byron," he says, "but I am not sure that we shall include it in the next volume of J.B.'s Collected Poems."

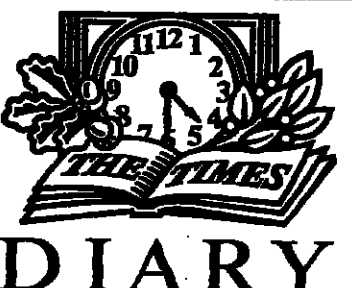
Before his death in May 1984, Betjeman assembled all the poems he wanted published in Murray's collection, rejecting many others. Since then one or two verses have turned up which, if it is thought, he would not wish to be preserved. "I shall study this new discovery and will be able to tell whether it would have wanted it to be included," says Murray. If he thinks Betjeman is giving a celestial nod, it will appear in the combined collected and uncollected work appearing in 1993.

### Close shaves

A s Israel prepares for a possible Iraqi attack, some of its citizens will have to move quickly if the alarm is raised. Although gas masks have been issued all round, they are not designed to fit over beards — of which there are, of course, a considerable number in Israel. Plans to import special masks for the bearded from Germany have fallen through, and the country's civil defence manual now states: "Bearded gentlemen will have to shave off their beard as there has to be a complete seal around the face for the mask to work."

Nor are the clean-shaven much luckier when it comes to trying on their masks. One side of the mask says "Do not open", while the other side carries a notice urging regular practice.

The consolation for bearded and non-bearded alike is that the military promise a nine-minute warning before an attack, time both to shave off a beard — if a razor is handy — and practise



putting on a mask. Richard Owen, the Times man in Jerusalem, who sports a full beard, is taking the advice seriously. He is carrying a razor around with him until the crisis is over.

### Battling it out

A lthough the Battle of Britain anniversary flypast is still fresh in the memory, the bulldozer now threatens one of the last remaining RAF wartime fighter bases. Hawkinge airfield, near Folkestone, is in danger of becoming a housing estate.

Shepway district council and Kent county council have both identified the site as suitable for

residential development and expect a decision from the Department of the Environment by the end of the month.

As part of the anniversary celebrations last year, wartime pilots held a reunion at the Battle of Britain museum adjoining the airfield and Shepway council produced a handsome brochure on the airfield's history. "I think it's rather ironic that the council hopes to develop the site so soon after its celebrations to remember the Few," says Mike Llewellyn, curator of the museum. Stephen Nordcliffe of Shepway council counters: "The museum is in memory of the past, but the airfield has been designated to help people in the future."

Llewellyn, unconvinced, has launched a campaign to save Hawkinge. He is organising petitions and writing to people with influence. "It's disgraceful that Shepway council should approve a plan to destroy this important shrine to freedom and democracy," he says.

like hell." Another cousin likely to enter the fray against Henley is Earl Russell, 53, the Liberal Democrat spokesman.

One can only feel sorry for Lord Denham, the government chief whip. After his failure last year to quash Tory rebellions over the War Crimes Bill and a number of social security measures, he is under great pressure to deliver a victory for Lord Waddington, the new leader of the Lords.

For Denham it is more than a political issue, for he too is related to the three warring peers.

### What about the asp?

T here can be few opportunities left for a first in staging Shakespeare, but such a claim is being made for a new production of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Not only does it have an all-black cast, the director, Yvonne Brewster, too is black.

"Orson Welles directed his famous 1936 version of *Macbeth*, set in Haiti, with an all-black cast, and in the early 1980s the National Theatre staged a mixed-cast *Measure for Measure*," says a spokesman for the Talawa Theatre Company, which is producing the play. "But this is the first with black actors and a black director."

The production opens at the Merseyside Everyman theatre on April 24, a day after Shakespeare's 477th birthday, and comes to London's Bloomsbury Theatre in May. "I think body-language between more people of the same race is more easily recognised," says Brewster. "And the actors try even harder, because people are bound to criticise an all-black version of a European classic." Complaints from white actors claiming discrimination are not expected.

هكذا من الإيجل





## TEST OF NERVES

This has been a weekend of anti-war protests and pre-war jitters, capped by more news from Baghdad even grimmer than that from Geneva last Wednesday. When the talks between James Baker and his opposite number, Tariq Aziz, broke down it was possible to attribute Iraq's intransigence to President Saddam Hussein's determination not to be seen knuckling under to the United States, least of all in a foreign capital.

As the United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, left Baghdad last night, the indication was that Saddam has now humbly and respectfully refused the representative of the whole "international community", a man of almost painful peacefulness, who had gone to great lengths to bring with him the views of a wide section of opinion, not to mention ideas for giving Saddam at least a modicum of dignity with which to back down.

Obviously the world could be witnessing one of the greatest games of diplomatic showmanship, and brinkmanship, of modern times. Saddam is clearly not the sort of dictator who cares to be seen admitting a mistake. He has plainly hoped that something might turn up before the UN deadline is reached on Tuesday. If he intends to retreat from his occupation of Kuwait on the stroke of midnight, his megalomania still has some 48 hours of feasting to go.

That the nerves of the civilised world should be so tested is outrageous. But tested they are, and they must not be found wanting. That is to repeat the question that must be aimed at all those who demonstrated "for peace" at the weekend: what further peacemaking, short of capitulation to aggression, can those who oppose war possibly expect? In Geneva, the discussions were at least lengthy. Saddam, by contrast, treated the UN secretary-general with discourteous contempt. Iraqi newspapers did not publish news of his visit. He was kept waiting for three hours for an audience of under an hour. Barely had it begun when Baghdad radio broadcast Saddam's fire-breathing rejection of a Syrian appeal to

withdraw, which repeated Iraq's claim to Kuwait as its 19th province and called on Syria to change sides in the coming battle.

The secretary-general, sensing failure, was a reluctant emissary. He took with him, he said, no specific offer, but the UN's longstanding commitment to a peace settlement between Israel and the Palestinians enabled him to offer *ex officio* an implicit form of linkage. In addition, UN precedents exist for offers of buffer zones, neutral monitoring of a withdrawal and even a pledge to use good offices to work for the withdrawal of foreign forces for the region.

Mr Pérez de Cuéllar can be relied on to have explored all these avenues. They may be small print compared with Saddam's grandiose ambitions, and necessarily predicated on Iraqi compliance with UN resolutions demanding withdrawal, but they offered an adequate basis for an Iraqi retreat from the brink. If Saddam is simply intent on fighting "the mother of battles", hoping to break up the allied coalition by attacking Israel and expecting to inflict such casualties on Western troops that the Americans in particular will call a halt, then what scope is there for other peace-makers, least of all the French? They cannot improve on the UN secretary-general's offer without departing from the UN terms. None of them seems ready to do so, nor indeed has the right.

Britain's Labour party, or at least an element within it, now ranks alongside dissenting voices in the United States, France and elsewhere in calling for "sanctions" to be given more time to "work". To their credit, British church leaders at the weekend said that they were not, or at least were no longer, taken in by such talk. It is no longer tenable to pretend that postponing the moment of truth in the Gulf is a plausible strategy. It is code for capitulation. The world is now committed to going to the brink of war in the coming week, a war likely to be of peculiar horror and intensity. The weekend's events have shown the character of the enemy in his true light. Nerves must not crack.

## A BRUTAL MISTAKE

At a certain point in the collapse of his power, a ruler loses all interest in what the world outside thinks of him. After the events of the weekend in the Baltic republic of Lithuania, and to a lesser extent in Georgia, Mikhail Gorbachev appears to have reached that point.

That is no reason for the outside world to do nothing. The West must impress on the Kremlin that backsliding on reforms in which the whole world has an interest will be expensive. All aid from the West should stop, in transit if necessary. For the aid, including a billion dollar package from the EC, was only justified if there really was to be a new friendship between East and West.

The mowing down of unarmed demonstrators with tanks and the storming at gunpoint of public buildings in Vilnius by Soviet paratroops brings that relationship to the brink of collapse. The only explanation which would save it would be that President Gorbachev temporarily lost control some time on Saturday, and that a local coup d'état was launched without his knowledge or consent. If that is the case, he must take tough disciplinary action and presumably support Boris Yeltsin in his dash last night to Estonia to "recognise" the three republics. If he does not, then he was lying on Saturday when he promised the Federation Council — the Soviet Union's highest executive body — that further force would not be used against Lithuania.

Events now suggest a man not in full possession of the facts, rather than a man dictating each twist and turn of crisis-management. It is hard to see that Mr Gorbachev can vindicate his good faith short of disbanding, and indeed arresting, the so-called National Salvation Committee in Vilnius, whose effort to seize power appears to have triggered the army's intervention. Should he recognise the committee as Lithuania's lawful government, in defiance of everything the Lithuanians have

struggled to achieve this past year, he will deserve to be damned for double-dealing.

The three Baltic states, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, are seeking to assert an independence they say is legally theirs already, because of the illegality of the 1940 pact between Hitler and Stalin which brought them under Soviet control. On this basis, the Soviet army's actions are an invasion of a sovereign state by a larger neighbour. Mr Gorbachev's reply has always been that these states are under legitimate Soviet sovereignty and that therefore this was the Kremlin's domestic business.

The West's position has been somewhere in between: none of the Baltic states has been treated as sovereign, even though the 1940 treaty is not accepted in the West as lawful. Where that stands in the light of Mr Yeltsin's "recognition" remains unclear. Anyway, the West's primary objection is not the illegality of the Vilnius intervention, but its total incompatibility with the new European order of peace and goodwill.

The sight of Soviet tanks shooting down demonstrators naturally turns thoughts to Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and, further back, to the West's own experience of decolonisation. In each case peace only came once the colonial power realised that the local will for independence was irresistible. Yet the immediate outcome of these examples was not always the same. The agony of Vilnius is the agony of not knowing which historical example is repeating itself.

The weekend's events in Lithuania, and reaction to them inside and outside the Soviet Union, only underline the justice of the Baltic claim for independence. But the men of the Kremlin have played this game before, and won for themselves and their empire a handsome reprieve. The Soviet attempt to repress Lithuania, to quote Talleyrand, is "worse than a crime, it is a mistake." The West must not be party to it.

## VALUED LANDSCAPES

The M40 Oxford-Birmingham motorway, due to open this week, is the first of a wave of big new roads. Other new routes threaten 30 of the National Trust's historic estates or properties, 800 archaeological monuments and, in nine southern counties alone, 372 important wildlife sites, according to reputable conservation bodies.

In the past, such landscapes as the battlefield of Naseby, Twyford Down outside Winchester, Oxleas — a rare survival of the London's ancient woodlands — and even the white cliffs of Dover have all been judged "too expensive" to protect by means of tunnels or rerouting. The way such decisions are made no longer deserves confidence.

Cost-benefit analysis for new roads has reached a degree of sophistication sufficient to estimate (or at least intelligently to guess) some of the benefits, for instance the gross savings to motorists from faster routes. But the experts do not know how to measure the wider disbenefits of environmental loss, a wider disbenefit in a letter in today's *Times* by Dr Stephen Atkins. Since the report of the Leitch committee in 1978, environmental factors such as noise, air pollution and damage to landscape have been taken into account in planning decisions. But their very softness puts them at a disadvantage compared with benefits that are easier to measure in hard cash.

This leads to a bias against those threatened benefits — real enough to the

historic. Some economists, including the government's own adviser, Professor David Pearce, have pointed out that if the environment is seen as "free", in the short term it will be over-exploited. They have advocated techniques for giving such amenities a cash value: the "green price" of a hillside likely to be destroyed by a road might be quantified by the estimated fall in the price of houses whose view had been spoiled; that of a battlefield, by the lost profits from tourism.

Such calculations may seem almost farcical. But they are implicit in any ministerial decision that a landscape is not worth saving. Twyford Down's cash value was assumed to be quantifiable to the extent of being less than the £90 million cost of a tunnel underneath it. Presumably there is a lesser figure at which the minister would have considered the Down worth the price.

For the last two years new techniques of cost-benefit analysis have been under study by the standing advisory committee on trunk road assessment, a small group of leading transport experts chaired by Derek Wood, QC. Their report is expected soon. Malcolm Rifkind, the new transport secretary, has promised Parliament he will give proper weight to the environment in transport policy. This must mean his accepting that putting a monetary value on the benefits of a new road, but not on the landscape the road goes through, is a blatant threat to the countryside.

## Linkage issue in the Middle East

From the Director of the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding

Sir, I cannot allow your paean of praise for Israel's "restraint" made in your editorial of January 11 to pass without comment. Israel must bear a great deal of the responsibility for the crisis in which the world finds itself.

First, its occupation of east Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights since 1967, and more recently of part of Lebanon, and its appalling treatment of the inhabitants under occupation, have led to deep animosity from Israel's Arab neighbours.

Secondly, its failure to grasp the opportunity of the Palestinian peace initiatives offered since the start of the Intifada has made it easy for Saddam Hussein to rally the Arab masses behind him. Meaningful talks between Israelis and Palestinians would have deprived the Iraqi leader of this powerful weapon.

If Israel really wishes to help resolve the current crisis, for war will bring catastrophic consequences to all the states in the region including Israel, it should announce, unilaterally, its intention of attending an international peace conference to resolve the Israeli/Palestinian dispute.

Yours faithfully,  
BERNARD MILLS, Director,  
Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding,  
21 Collingham Road, SW5,  
January 11.

From Mr Clive D. Greidinger  
Sir, When your correspondent, Mr Jorissen (January 9), states that Israel was "established at the expense of the Palestinians" he puts a most complicated matter which has had and continues to have tragic and dangerous results in a simplistic way, with biased overtones.

In these matters, as in most human affairs, few have clean hands and neither victim nor victor are wholly innocent or wholly guilty. No one knows how the problems in the Middle East will be resolved in the face of all the conflicting interests and prejudices. The comments by one who served as ambassador of The Netherlands in the Middle East give little hope that even those who should appreciate the problems of the area do so.

Yours faithfully,  
CLIVE D. GREIDINGER,  
3 Delamere Gardens, NW7.

From Mr Andrew Brock  
Sir, If Britain were to insist that any overall conference on the Middle East situation included on the agenda not just Palestine and Kuwait but also addressed the question of Kurdish homeland, the benefits of linkage for Saddam Hussein would disappear, as should some of our own objections to the principle of linkage.

Yours sincerely,  
ANDREW BROCK,  
68 Duke's Avenue,  
Chiswick W4,  
January 12.

## New golf courses

From Mr Wyndham Thomas  
Sir, John Young's article (January 3) on new golf course proposals just touches on the real need: for public courses, open at reasonable fees to all-comers. The latent demand for these is enormous.

Two such courses were built by Peterborough Development Corporation, of which I was general manager. Each now has 60,000 to 70,000 rounds played each year — a realistic maximum. Each makes a handsome profit.

A third public course is badly needed and would also be fully used. This is in a district with a population of about 150,000 and its own 800-member private golf club as well.

John Young quotes £1.4 million as the likely cost of building a course and clubhouse. But a clubhouse need not be built at all once. Some who play at St Andrews Old Course, for instance, use their cars for changing their shoes.

The shrewd landowner grants a long lease in return for a share of the rising profits realised from the third or fourth year. Local planning authorities and landowners need to agree the location, phasing and financing of new courses with those (admittedly few) developers genuinely concerned to build public courses, to extend their amenities as revenues grow, and to run them as a profitable public service. The general benefit would be great, as the Peterborough experience proves.

Yours faithfully,  
WYNDHAM THOMAS,  
8 Westwood Park Road,  
Peterborough, Cambridgeshire.

## Pressures on MPs

From Mr Douglas French, MP for Gloucester (Conservative)

Sir, I am surprised that in your letter, "Full time in the House" (January 3), you repeat a mistake to which attention has been drawn on previous occasions. It is not correct that members of parliament pay "no poll tax on their second homes". They are in the same position as any other people with two homes. In most cases, they are liable for the personal charge in respect of one home and the standard charge in respect of the other.

The anomaly to which you might have drawn attention is the difference in treatment between one MP and another in almost identical circumstances. The member who spends four nights a week in London

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

### Red-letter days for the red routes

From the Director of the CBI

Sir, John Adams, "Red double-deckers, not red routes" (January 7), says that the most notable characteristic of the red-route scheme is that it provides more road space for cars. He made no reference to the possibility that, if successful and introduced more widely throughout London, it might begin to reduce the estimated £10 billion a year lost to industry from traffic congestion in the capital.

There has been an 11 per cent fall in the number of car commuters into central London since 1983. The large proportion of road-users are vehicles providing essential goods and services to businesses and residents. For example, people like milkmen, lift-maintenance engineers and office furniture delivery men cannot carry out their daily duties using a bus. The main beneficiaries of the red routes are likely to be not only the buses but also the many commercial vehicles currently delayed in traffic jams.

The red routes are among the very few possible solutions which could keep open crucial road arteries. It may be necessary to compensate traders along such routes who suffer financially but this relatively limited

experiment will allow for these effects to be quantified.

The routes should help the efficiency of bus services, thereby encouraging commuters to keep their cars off the roads.

Yours faithfully,  
JANE CALVERT-LEE,  
Director,  
Confederation of British Industry,  
103 New Oxford Street, WC1.

From Mr Edmund King

Sir, The aim of red routes is to make the most effective use of existing road space and to improve journey times and reliability, particularly for buses.

In Paris the 17 miles of restrictive parking on the axes rouges have increased bus speeds by a dramatic 60 per cent and car speeds by 20 per cent since last October, without attracting extra traffic.

Buses and their passengers are the main beneficiaries of extra bus lanes and kerb sides clear of illegally parked cars. We need more red routes on more of the red double-decker routes.

Yours faithfully,  
EDMUND KING (Secretary),  
Movement for London,  
194-202 Old Kent Road, SE1.

### Cost of road schemes

From Dr Stephen T. Atkins

Sir, Michael McCarthy's report on the environmental consequences of road schemes (January 7) provides a highly optimistic impression of the benefits of assigning monetary values to the environment.

Since the 1970 Rockill commission report on the siting of London's third airport, a professional consensus has held that monetary evaluation of the environment could not, and perhaps even should not, be undertaken. Although the technique of "stated preference" (SP) analysis has gained wider acceptance recently, particularly for valuing qualities of travel conditions, there are still many concerns over its reliability and consistency.

Furthermore, the application of SP methods to the wide range of environmental effects, many of which are based on unquantifiable factors and subjective opinion, remains highly problematic.

An alternative way forward, however, might be simply to scrap monetary valuation for travel time

which currently dominates road appraisal, exerts undue influence on decision-takers and is, in reality, almost equally contentious.

In the same issue, for example, you report the imminent opening of the Oatmoor extension to the M40, between Oxford and Birmingham. In this case the real choice was between an average 1½ minutes reduction in time savings for travellers using the M40 and environmental protection. However, this was presented as a choice between £19 million and maintaining the existing environment and wild-life habitats.

Presenting the consequences of road construction in their own units, preferably in a goals-achievement framework as previously recommended by the government's standing advisory committee, would be an effective and policy-neutral method.

Yours faithfully,  
STEPHEN T. ATKINS,  
University of Southampton,  
Department of Civil Engineering,  
Southampton, SO9 5NH,  
January 9.

### Destructive date

From Mr Cyril A. Mummery

Sir, Your article on pest control (January 2) exonerates fallow deer from causing "significant damage". This species is found in considerable numbers in the houlder-day woods of north-west Essex and adjacent areas of Suffolk and Cambridge.

In these woods the Barfield oil pipeline in sufficient numbers to make the woods lemon yellow in late April.

No longer: the oxtides are the favourite snack of the fallow deer. They are found only within about 20 miles of Saffron Walden and if this depredation continues they will not be seen there much longer.

Fallow deer also eat the young shoots of regenerating coppice, thus frustrating the efforts of conservationists to restore traditional management. A decade ago coppicing in this area produced pure new wood. No longer: wood deformed by browsing deer is useless for anything but firewood.

Yours faithfully,  
CYRIL A. MUMMERY,  
60 South Road,  
Saffron Walden, Essex,  
January 4.

### Terminal virus

From Mr David Frost

Sir, Bernard Levin ("A terminal case of virus", January 3) has hit the nail on the head. Far too many senior managers do not realise how dependent their organisations are on their computers and networks.

While some managers have put in place contingency plans, the results of surveys carried out in Europe and the USA show that typically fewer than 0.5 per cent of organisations have plans that they have tested and hence will probably work. All the others and those with no plans at all are taking extraordinary risks.

Perhaps the answer lies in legislation requiring contingency plans in certain industry sectors, e.g., banking, or where there is a potential life-threatening situation, e.g., air traffic control.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID FROST (Partner),  
Price Waterhouse,  
Data Security Group,  
1 Moor Lane, EC2,  
January 10.

nights a week in London, will pay two personal charges in London and one standard charge in the constituency.

The MP who spends four nights a week in London but whose wife spends only three nights a week in London and four nights in the constituency will, depending on the individual community charge registration officer, probably pay one personal charge in London for himself and one personal charge in the constituency on behalf of his wife.

The difference in cost for this small difference in personal circumstances is one standard community charge. Now that is something that does need reform.

Yours faithfully,  
DOUGLAS FRENCH,  
House of Commons.

### Three-point plan for fisheries

From the Director of Holyhead Fish Processors Ltd

Sir, We must adopt a better understanding in managing the future of our fishing industry before it is too late. I do not think that keeping vessels in port for eight consecutive days each month is the right decision because those that have to adhere to this rule will take bigger chances and lives will be lost.

That would not save our industry from over-fishing. The answer as I see it should be in at least three stages:

1. Increase mesh sizes over five years: in the first year by 10mm (from the present 90mm) and in each remaining year by a further 5mm. This would not put hard-pressed fishermen out of business. Over five years it would bring to the market better quality fish. They would fetch far better prices, at lower costs, because vessels would use less fuel by fishing with larger-mesh nets.

2. Introduce "closed boxes" — areas closed for fishing. Any vessels caught fishing within them might have their licences taken away. These areas, in time, would become breeding grounds and result in better stocks.

3. Better policing of fishing so that all vessels would be fitted with tracking beacons, linked to a central computer via satellite. That would stop misreporting of catches and fishing in closed boxes. It would also keep an eye on the movements of all fishing vessels and would be a big safety "plus" for the fleet.

By taking the right action now we would create a better fishing industry for our younger generation.

Yours truly,  
J. M. CRANE, Director,  
Holyhead Fish Processors Ltd,  
Penrhos Industrial Estate,  
Holyhead, Gwynedd,  
January 11.

### Drawbacks in training

From Mr John Parfitt

Sir, Your report (January 1) on the problems of the employment training scheme is timely but misses two major reasons why the scheme is not working properly.

First, the lengthy procedures faced by the unemployed (including the prospect of three interviews/assessments before even starting a course) are such that some 70 per cent of applicants drop out, so that groups coming forward to be trained are generally far too small: the minimum economic number to be worth a full-time tutor is 6-8 and groups of that size are too seldom seen, and when they do come the actual training is spread too thinly over a year instead of being concentrated into (say) three months.

Second, the paperwork for all official schemes continues to increase: small companies have enough paper to process without the piles of bumf that come with a trainee on placement and when the company, like mine, is a training provider the proliferation of returns demanded by the Training Agency only distracts from one's professional job.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
JOHN PARFITT (Manager),  
Gloucestershire Information Technology Centre,  
Larkhay Road,  
Hucclecote, Gloucester,  
January 3.

### Random testing

From the Director of Nacro

Sir, Several recent highly-publicised drink-driving cases have stimulated calls for an increased use of prison sentences for such offenders.

Much more effective are the courses for drunken drivers run by the probation service in a growing number of areas. These cover the medical, social and financial effects of drunken driving and its potential effect on accident victims and offenders' families. The central aim is to help offenders to change their patterns of drinking.

Combined with a probation order and disqualification, these courses are proving beneficial in dealing with many drink drivers including repeat offenders and those with particularly high alcohol readings. For example, most of the offenders dealt with in the pioneering courses run by the Hampshire Probation Service since 1983 have not been convicted of alcohol-related offences.

Unlike prison sentences, these methods increase public protection by helping offenders to become better and safer drivers by the time they get their licences back.

Yours faithfully,  
VIVIAN STERN, Director,  
National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders,  
169 Clapham Road, SW9,  
January 4.

### Jack of all trades

From Mr Maurice Dennett

Sir, The report on children's authors (January 8) describes Allan Ahlberg as having come to writing after spells as a headmaster, plumber, postman and gravedigger.

As a retired primary school head, I am interested to know whether he followed those occupations in the order quoted.

Yours faithfully,  
MAURICE DENNETT,  
27 St Anne's Crescent,  
Grasscroft, Oldham,  
Greater Manchester.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number —





## COURT CIRCULAR

**BUCKINGHAM PALACE**  
January 12: The Prince Edward, Patron of the Cambridge Symphony Orchestra, this evening attended the debut concert in Cambridge of the CSO's new Chamber Orchestra, Eastern Sinfonia, in King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

**SANDRINGHAM**  
January 13: Divine Service was held in Sandringham Parish Church this morning. The Bishop of Liverpool

preached the sermon. Her Majesty presented The Queen's Gold Medal for Academic Excellence at King Edward VII High School, King's Lynn, to Mr Colin Mills, who was introduced into Her Majesty's presence by Mr M.J. Walker, the Headmaster.

Mr Richard Fitch was received by The Queen when Her Majesty invested him with the insignia of a Member of the Royal Victorian Order.

## Today's royal engagements

The Princess of Wales will open the FACTS Health Care Centre, 23-25 Weston Park, Haringey, at 10.30.  
The Princess Royal will open Bedfordshire police station, Watlington, at 2.05; the Mary Ann Evans Hospice, Heath Road, Nuneaton, at 2.55; and Polesworth fire station at 3.50.

## Appointments

Latest appointments include: Dr Bridget Ogilvie to be Director of the Wellcome Trust. Mrs Virginia Bottomley to be Government Co-Chairman of the Women's National Commission.

## Memorial service

The Right Rev Dr Gwilym Williams A commemorative Eucharist for and burial of the ashes of the Right Rev Dr Gwilym Williams was held on Saturday in Bangor Cathedral. The Archbishop of Wales officiated, assisted by the Bishop of St Asaph, the Bishop of Bangor and the Dean of Bangor.

The Archbishop of Bangor and the Archbishop of Merioneth read the lessons. Canon Meurig Foulkes led the prayers and the Right Rev Ivor Ross gave an address.

Nature notes has been held over until tomorrow.

## Birthdays today

Captain Sir Alastair Aird, royal equerry, 60; Professor Sir Melville Arnott, cardiologist, 82; Mr Peter Barlow, actor, 62; Mr Richard Briers, actor, 57; Baroness Brooke of Stratford, 83; Lord Catto, 68; Miss Faye Dunaway, actress, 50; Miss Marina Gregel, ballerina, 46; Miss Andrea Grenfell, former managing director, Glemby International, 51; Sir Arthur Hoole, former president, Law Society, 67; Professor Sir Hans Kornblum, biochemist, 63; Mr Warren Mitchell, actor, 65; Mr Trevor Nunn, theatre director, 51; Sir Neil Pritchard, diplomat, 80; Mr C.R. Reeves, banker, 55; Sir Vernon Secombe, chairman, Plymouth Health Authority, 63; Sir John Woodcock, HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary, 59.

## His Honour Judge Lewis Hawser

A memorial service for His Honour Judge Lewis Hawser will be held on Thursday, February 28, 1991, at 5pm, in the Temple Church, London, EC4.

## Sir Arthur Davies

A memorial service of thanksgiving for the life and work of Sir Arthur Davies, lately Secretary-General Emeritus of the World Meteorological Organisation, will be held at St Clement Danes Church, Strand, London W2, on Friday, January 18, 1991, at noon.

## School news

**Bedford School**  
The Easter term begins today with 1,117 boys in the school. William Banks continues as head of school. Adam Coventry is captain of hockey and Grant Hedley captain of boats. Bedford school choir, which will perform Elgar's *Gerontius* in the Great Hall on Sunday, March 10, at 7.30 p.m.

**Belmont Abbey School, Hereford**  
The Lent term at Belmont Abbey school begins today with Academic High Mass of the Holy Spirit. The Belmont Association match is on Saturday, February 9 and will be followed by the last XV dinner.

The half-term exam is from Friday, February 15 to Wednesday, February 20. The concert competition will take place on St Benedict's day, Thursday, March 21. Term ends on Tuesday, March 26.

**Bromsgrove School**  
School convenes today for the Lent term at Bromsgrove. The official opening of the school's floodlit all-weather pitch is on January 30. Open days for prospective parents and their children are as follows: Saturday, January 19, 9.30am-1pm, for 8-13; entry, Saturday, January 26, 9.30am-1pm, for 13+; entry, Saturday, February 2, 9.30am-1pm, for sixth form entry.

The dramatic society presents *Murder in the Cathedral* in the Memorial Chapel on March 6, 7 and 8. Old Bromsgrovian hockey and netball matches are on March 12. The choral society performs Verdi's *Requiem* in Tewkesbury Abbey, on March 16. The careers fair is on March 20, after which term ends.

**Monksford Preparatory School**  
The Lent term begins at Monksford Preparatory School today. Gavin Smith is head boy, Charles Stanner-Smith, captain of rugby football and Peter Wilder, captain of sevens. Charles Johnston is head chorister and Peter Hart is the leader of the Orchestra. There will be evenings of music and drama on Wednesday, March 20 and Thursday, March 21, and tickets are available from the school. Term ends on Friday, March 22.

**St Edward's School, Oxford**  
Term starts today. The new girls' residence, Oakthorpe House, has been completed and is fully occupied. Confirmation, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, takes place on Sunday, February 24, at 11.00 am. Mozart's *Requiem* will be performed in the chapel on Saturday, February 23, at 8.00 pm. *Forty Years On* by Alan Bennett will be performed on March 14, 15 and 16, at 7.45 pm. Term ends on Saturday, March 23, at 11.30 am.

## OBITUARIES

## SIR ALEC ROSE

Sir Alec Rose, the round-the-world yachtsman, died in his hospital on January 12 aged 82. He was born on July 13, 1908.



Alec Rose, a shy, quietly-spoken green grocer, captured the public's imagination in 1968 by following in the wake of Sir Francis Chichester, sailing around the world alone in his 36ft ketch-rigged yacht Lively Lady, shunning publicity and sponsorship. He was neither the first, nor the fastest, but sailing quietly around the world, minding his own business, he showed tenacity, a good boat, and careful preparation, not money and publicity, were the key ingredients of success.

Although he had served in the RNVR during the second world war Rose did not take up sailing as a hobby until 1959, when he bought a German lifeboat and converted it. He had begun his working life farming in Canada, returning to England as a haulage contractor before the war.

He called the 27,000 mile voyage "a personal adventure" and had dreamed of completing the circumnavigation since his boyhood days. "I always wanted to sail round Cape Horn. I felt it was the ultimate aim of a man and his ship," he said on his return.

His first attempt in 1966, the same year that Francis Chichester set out for Australia alone, ended in failure. After setting out from his home port of Portsmouth, Rose had to put into Plymouth for repairs. Once back at sea, Lively Lady was rammed at night by a ship and more repairs, he was forced to abandon the voyage when the boat fell on her side, adding to the damage.

There were many who laughed at his expense but, undaunted, Rose set out from Portsmouth a second time on

July 16, 1967, amazed at the thousands who lined the shore to bid him farewell. "I felt rather a fraud having such a wonderful send-off for the second time in a year," he said later. He shunned publicity throughout, telling his wife Dorothy, who stayed at home to run the family green grocery business in Southsea, that he did not want any of that "Chichester publicity".

After 114 days at sea, Lively Lady came close to being dismasted during a Southern Ocean gale when part of her rigging snapped. Aged 59, Rose was forced to climb the wildly swaying mast several times to replace the wires, leaving his thighs raw and

bleeding with the effort of clinging to the mast. He finally reached Melbourne on December 17, 1967, after spending 155 days at sea, 52 more than Chichester's time to Australia.

After repairing and repainting his yacht, Rose set sail for Cape Horn, but ran into another storm in the Tasman sea which forced him to put into Bluff on the southernmost tip of New Zealand to await spare parts being flown out from England. Mid-way across the Pacific, he was overcome by fumes while repairing the exhaust pipe and lay unconscious for two hours. Rose finally reached the infamous Cape on April Fool's Day 1968 where he was seen

limping around Lively Lady's deck after twisting his knee badly in a fall.

Four months later, 354 days after leaving Portsmouth, Alec Rose returned to a tumultuous welcome from 250,000 people to learn from a naval officer as he stepped ashore that the Queen had given him a knighthood on the advice of the prime minister "for his tenacity, skill and courage".

He returned to run the family green grocery business until retiring in 1971, but devoted much of his spare time to raising funds for the Royal National Lifeboat Institution. Thanks to Sir Alec's efforts more than £20 million (in today's money values) was raised for the institution in the 22 years since his circumnavigation. He was one of 30 honorary life governors, the highest honour awarded to supporters of the RNLI. In 1969, Sir Alec launched the RNLI's national membership scheme, now titled "Shoreline", which boasts a 200,000 strong membership. In 1973 he led an appeal in Hampshire for an £85,000 Rother Class lifeboat, Hampshire Rose, (named after the symbol for the county, not Sir Alec) which was launched the following year and renamed on station at Walmer, Kent until last year. Eleven years ago, he was also responsible for the launching of a second lifeboat, the 37th Shoreline which cost £150,000 and was stationed at Blyth until being transferred to Arbroath.

After his voyage, Sir Alec was awarded the Blue Water Medal by the Cruising Club of America and the Seamanship Medal by the Royal Cruising Club. He was also given the Freedom of Portsmouth on his triumphant return and made a Freeman of the City of London a year later.

Sir Alec is survived by his second wife Dorothy and four children.

## EDDIE BAREFIELD

Eddie Barefield, jazz clarinetist, alto and tenor saxophonist, bandleader and arranger, died in New York City on January 4 aged 81. He was born in Scandia, Iowa, on December 12, 1909.

"I've got Johnny Hodges and Benny Carter all wrapped up in one guy," declared Cab Calloway in 1933 after he had added Eddie Barefield to his band's saxophone section. Although Barefield could never quite live up to that accolade, he was for many years a jazz player of high quality - particularly on the clarinet - as well as an arranger who went on to write for Benny Goodman, Jimmy Dorsey, Glenn Miller, and other leading bandleaders. He remained active as a performer until very recently, taking part in a Channel 4 series that was transmitted last year.

Barefield's father, grandfather and great grandfather were coalminers, working in the Des Moines area of Iowa. His earliest ambition was to become a boxer ("I had 120

amateur contests, fighting for the Des Moines newspapers") but this was supplanted by a fascination with the saxophone ("I learned all Coleman Hawkins's solos from records, all Sidney Bechet's too"). His first professional job, at the age of 16, was with Edgar Pillow's Night Owls, touring all over the United States.

Barefield learnt to read music and began teaching himself to write arrangements, largely through listening to Fletcher Henderson's records. He was hired as the lead alto player in Bennie Moten's band, based in Kansas City but renowned all over the southwestern territories. In 1932 that band, which included Ben Webster, Hot Lips Page, and Count Basie, travelled to New York for a classic recording session. Among the pieces they recorded was *Toby*, one of Barefield's compositions ("a woman at the record company gave me \$50 and said I'd be getting further cheques, but I never did").

The three years that followed, spent with Cab Cal-



loway's orchestra, took in a residency at the Cotton Club and, in 1934, his first trip to Europe. By 1936 Barefield was in California, beginning to make his mark as an arranger and also leading a band that contained quite a few up-and-coming young musicians, such as the saxophonist Don Byas, the trombonist Tyree Glenn and the drummer Lee Young. During the 1940s Barefield acted as musical director of

Ella Fitzgerald's big band, was a staff musician at ABC studios, spent brief periods with the bands of Duke Ellington and Wilbur De Paris, and two years as musical director for Tennessee Williams's play *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Like many musicians of his generation he became involved with Dixieland groups, frequently working in Sidney Bechet's band at Ryan's in New York. In 1969, Barefield took a group of his own to Africa and later that year came to Europe.

As usual, the breadth of his latter day activities remained impressive, including working in circus bands as well as a lengthy period with the New York production of the musical show, *One Mo' Time*. No wonder he resented it when people tried to pigeon-hole what he did. "I never did go along with all the talk about a Kansas City-style, a Chicago-style, a West Coast-style," he'd say. "Styles are individual things, and at one time everybody had his own different, distinguishing style."

## PROF ROY CLAPHAM

Emeritus Professor Arthur Roy Clapham, CBE, FRS, head of the botany department at Sheffield University from 1944 to 1969, died on December 18 aged 86. He was born on May 24, 1904.

ROY Clapham will be remembered for pointing out the need for much more information about the flora of Britain, and the structure of plant communities in this country. As a result a comprehensive system of mapping and documentation was devised which drew together all known information about particular species thus providing an unprecedented foundation for future knowledge and research.

Clapham was also known overseas for his work on the International Biological Programme which provided the basis for integrated research on many types of vegetation world-wide. This has led to the elucidation of the structure and functioning of world ecosystems which has added significance today with increased international concern about environmental issues.

Clapham gained a double first at Downing College, Cambridge in 1922, specialising in botany. After several years of research in plant physiology at Cambridge he moved to Rothamsted Agricultural Experimental Station as crop physiologist. In 1930 on his move to Oxford, his studies of British plants flourished under the encouragement of the "father of British plant ecology", A.G. Tansley. An early landmark was the launch in 1940 of *The Biological Flora of the British Isles* in which Clapham played a leading role.

When Clapham came to Sheffield in 1944, his declared aim was to build up a school of research centred on the *Biological Flora*, with its synthesis of information. This he achieved in no small measure: the Unit of Grassland Ecology was founded in the department in 1961 (now the Unit of Comparative Plant Ecology).

His wife, Brenda, died in 1986. He is survived by a son and two daughters.

The early 1950s saw the start of the detailed mapping of British plants on a 10-kilometre square base, initiated by Clapham (the model now adopted also for fauna), and in 1952 the old "Bentham and Hooker" Flora was superseded by the widely acclaimed *Flora of the British Isles* by Clapham, T.G. Tutin and E. Warburg. This *Flora* like its slimmer companion, *Excursion Flora*, remains the standard work.

A fluent and lucid writer, Clapham was a good communicator at all levels, and never lost touch with the general public, as witnessed by his *Oxford Book of Trees*, published in 1975. His wide interests are evident in his scientific papers which ranged over, for example, quantitative ecology, quaternary ecology, fens, soils, bryophytes and plant biology and distribution.

Roy Clapham was widely respected and in high demand as a chairman of committees, his friendly and open manner belying his skill in getting to the heart of an issue and reaching a wise outcome. Among his numerous chairmanships were those associated with his many contributions both nationally (Nature Conservancy) and locally (Derbyshire Wildlife Trust), and with his professional interests which included the Royal Society and the Linnean Society. At Sheffield University he was a pro-vice-chancellor and acted as vice-chancellor for a period.

As a lecturer, Clapham was at home in almost every branch of botany. A polymath *par excellence*, he was a first-rate linguist and his exact usage of the English language a point of frequent comment. He became an editor of *The New Phytologist* as early as 1931 and served that journal for three decades. Sheffield made him an honorary LintD in 1970.

His wife, Brenda, died in 1986. He is survived by a son and two daughters.

## ERIC EVANS

Eric Evans, former England rugby captain, died on January 12 aged 69. He was born on February 1, 1921.

ERIC Evans led England to rugby union's first grand slam in nearly 30 years, and their first since the second world war, when his XV beat the other home countries and France in 1957. The following season, when he was aged 37, drawn matches with Wales and Scotland prevented a repetition and proved to be his last in international rugby.

Evans, who was born in Droylsden near Manchester on February 1, 1921, was one of England's most inspirational captains. He was capped 30 times between 1948 and 1959 and led the side on 13 successive occasions. A contemporary said of his leadership that he "got more out of more players than any other captain I have known".

He was educated at Audenshaw Grammar School - where, as a Manchester United supporter, he was dismayed initially to find the

school game was rugby - and Loughborough Colleges. He was a sergeant in the Border Regiment during the war, later becoming a teacher and then an industrial relations officer for Shell-Mex and BP.

His club playing career began with Old Aldwinkians, his school old boys side, but he graduated to Sale and first represented Lancashire in 1946. He made over 100 appearances for England but the selectors were not so convinced of his skills and, after capping him as a prop against Australia in 1948, he won only one further cap over the next three seasons. Thereafter, however, he became England's regular hooker save for the 1955 season. But he was appointed captain against Wales in 1956 and his individual style, on the field and off, contributed to a notable period of English success. He later became an England selector, bringing to meetings the warmth and good humour which served him so well as captain.

He leaves his wife, Marian and a daughter.

## Anniversaries today

**BIRTHS:** Benedict Arnold, American general and traitor, Connecticut, 1741; Matthew Maury, hydrographer, Virginia, 1806; Henri-Fantin Latour, painter, Grenoble, 1836; Pierre Loti, novelist, Rochefort, France, 1850; Albert Schweitzer, doctor, musician and missionary, Kaysersberg, France, 1875; Sir Cecil Beaton, photographer, 1904.

**DEATHS:** Edmond Halley, astronomer, London, 1742; George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne 1734-53; philosopher, Oxford, 1753; Jean Ingres, painter, Paris, 1867; Lewis Carroll, Guildford, Surrey, 1898; Humphrey Bogart, film actor, Hollywood, 1957.

**Luncheon**  
**Boodle Hatfield**  
The Right Hon Sir Leon Brittan, QC, Vice President EC Commission, was the principal speaker at a luncheon seminar held last Friday at 43 Brook Street, London W1, on "Competition in the Community". Other speakers included Dr Heinrich Holzler, formerly Head of Competition Department, Federation of German Industries; Kristien Geurkink, Belgian Advocate and Adviser on EC Competition Law, Boodle Hatfield; Mr Tim Manning, Chairman of the firm's Management Committee, presided.

## Marriages

Mr G.J. de Jager and Miss C.M. Miles  
A service of blessing was held at Christ Church, Chelsea, on Saturday, January 12, after the marriage of Mr Geoffrey de Jager, son of Mr Douglas de Jager, of Cape Town, South Africa, and Miss Caroline Miles, daughter of Mr and Mrs Kenneth Miles, of East Sussex.

Mr R.H. Tempest and Miss S.C. North  
The marriage took place on January 4, 1991, of Mr Roger Tempest to Miss Kitty North.

Mr P.M. Bunter and Miss L.A. Harman  
The engagement is announced between Paul, elder son of Mr and Mrs M.R. Bunter, of Petts Wood, Kent, and Louise, daughter of Mr and Mrs A. Harman, of Bromley, Kent.

Mr L.D. Burnett and Miss C.R. Meeks  
The engagement is announced between Ian, younger son of the late Mr David Burnett and of Mrs Burnett, of Frant, East Sussex, and Caroline, elder daughter of Mr Clive Meeks, of Marlow, Buckinghamshire, and Mrs Paula Meeks, of Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire.

Mr J.W. Cook and Miss K.A. Clark  
The engagement is announced between James Cook and Karen Clark, both of Ashurst, Tisbury, Wiltshire.

Mr B.C.G. Davies and Miss K.L. Pickering  
The engagement is announced between Benjamin Charles Graham, son of Dr and Mrs John Davies, of Stratton-on-Avon, Bath, and Kim Louise, daughter of Mr and Mrs Maurice Pickering, of Tamworth, NSW, Australia.

Mr P.G.G. Dear and Miss J.H. Orr Ewing  
The engagement is announced between Patrick Giles Gauntlett, younger son of Mr M.A.G. Dear, of Algarve, Portugal, and Miss Elizabeth Orr Ewing, daughter of Major E.S. Orr Ewing, of Dunstable, Bedfordshire, and Mrs G.F. Burn, of Bewditch, Leicestershire.

Mr J. Gvozdenovic Kennedy and Miss S. Bianchi  
The engagement is announced between John, only son of Mr Danilo Gvozdenovic and Mrs Daphne Gvozdenovic (née Kennedy), of Sutton, Surrey, and Sarah, only daughter of Mr and Mrs Paul Bianchi, of Prestbury, Cheshire.

## Forthcoming marriages

Dr M.L. Demison and Dr E.M. Smith  
The engagement is announced between Mark, son of Mr and Mrs Roy Demison, of Bourne-mouth, Dorset, and Elaine, daughter of Mr and Mrs David Smith, of Chesham, Surrey.

Mr A.C. Dixon and Miss C.E.T. Robinson  
The engagement is announced between Christopher, youngest son of Mr and Mrs J. Dixon, of Freshfield, Formby, Merseyside, and Caroline, daughter of Mr and Mrs J.S. Robinson, of Tadworth, Surrey.

Mr M.A. Haley and Miss D.M. Wey  
The engagement is announced between Martin, second son of Mr and Mrs Donald J. Haley, of West Saluton, East Lothian, and Dianne, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs J. Iain Wey, of Fearn, Ross & Cromarty.

Mr P.M. Holmes and Miss J. Shuttleworth  
The engagement is announced between Paul Mark, elder son of Mr Eric Holmes, of Kerbridge, Cheshire, and Jane, daughter of Mr and Mrs Peter Shuttleworth, of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.

Mr N.A. Honey and Miss E.C. Geraghty  
The engagement is announced between Nicholas, son of Mr and Mrs Bill Honey, of Friston, Eastbourne, East Sussex, and Elizabeth Clare, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs Michael Geraghty, of Farnborough, Hampshire.

Mr M.J. Lefever and Miss A.G. Pepper  
The engagement is announced between Michael, son of Mr and Mrs Andrew Lefever, of Edgaston, Birmingham, and Alice, daughter of Mr Anthony Pepper and step-daughter of Mrs Carolyn Pepper, both of Glandford, Norfolk, and daughter of Mrs Primrose King, of London.

Dr J.E.T. Lewis and Miss J.S. Spalding  
The engagement is announced between John, eldest son of the late Dr R.J. Lewis and of Mrs M.L. Lewis, of Clarendon Road, formerly Narberth, Dyfed, and Joy, eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs M.L. Spalding, of Carterton, Oxfordshire.

Mr A.J. Locke and Miss A.H.C. Holden  
The engagement is announced between Anthony, son of Mr and Mrs M.J. Locke, of Cannington, Somerset, and Alison, daughter of Mr and Mrs J.E. Holden, of Fordingbridge, Hampshire.

Mr C.P.H. Morgan and Miss K.J.L. Pitt  
The engagement is announced between Charles, son of Mr Peter Morgan, of Cradley, Worcestershire, and Mrs Jane Morgan, of Kemerton, Gloucestershire, and Kathryn Jane, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs Alan Pitt, of South Cadbury, Somerset.

Mr S.J. Morris and Miss F.E. Asprey  
The engagement is announced between Stephen James, only son of Mr and Mrs B.J. Morris, of Northam, North Devon, and Fiona Elizabeth, daughter of Mr and Mrs E.R. Asprey, of Woodley, Berkshire.

Mr M.A. O'Neill and Miss C.N. Bannerman  
Sir David Bannerman, Bt, and Lady Bannerman, of St Margaret, Twickenham, are delighted to announce the engagement of their eldest daughter, Claire Naomi, to Michael Angus, only son of Mr Shane O'Neill, of Betchton, Cheshire.

Mr R.H. Taylor and Miss C.A. Wootton  
The engagement is announced between Richard, son of Mr and Mrs J.W.D. Taylor, of Portrush, Co Antrim, and Claire, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs W.J. Wootton, of Stanmore, Middlesex.

Mr R.J. Sheridan and Miss S.M. Evans  
The engagement is announced between Richard, only son of Dr and Mrs M.R. Sheridan, of London, and Sian, eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs C.V. Evans, of Swansea.

Captain G.D. Spawforth and Miss S.A. Lonsdale  
The engagement is announced between Graham Spawforth, King's Own Scottish Borderers, son of Mr and Mrs David Spawforth, of Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, and Sara, daughter of Mr and Mrs Malcolm Lonsdale, of Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire, formerly of Hong Kong.

Mr R.P.R. Thompson and Miss L. Yeates  
The engagement is announced between Richard, son of Mr and Mrs Anthony Thompson, QC, of Kensington, London, and Louisa, daughter of Mr and Mrs Paul Yeates, of Lingfield, Surrey.

Mr J.M. Whytehead and Miss S. Zietman  
The engagement is announced between Jonathan, son of Mr and Mrs Stephen Whytehead, of West Byfleet, Surrey, and Sharon, daughter of Mr Philip Zietman and the late Mrs Val Zietman, of Harare. The marriage will take place shortly in Zimbabwe.

Mr A.C. Wither and Miss E.C. Gillingham  
The engagement is announced between Angus, eldest son of Mr and Mrs John Wither, of Manyans Mead, Sutton Veny, Wiltshire, and Emma, youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs Hardy Gillingham, of Court Farm, Billingshurst, Sussex.

Mr E.N. Yeats-Brown and Miss J.S. Edmonds  
The engagement is announced between Edward, younger son of Mr and Mrs B. Yeats-Brown, of Moulsham, Oxon, and Joanna, only daughter of Lieutenant-Commander and Mrs R. Edmonds, of Hayling Island, Hampshire.

## Stephen Sykes

## Older churches must accept the challenge of evangelism

THERE ought to be no difficulty for Christians about evangelism, but there is. Jesus himself said something like the following: "I must evangelise, that is my apostolic ministry" (a free rendering of Luke 4:43). But no sooner is the word evangelism on the lips of many modern Christians than they begin to apologise for, or qualify it. Why?

In part it has to do with a long-engrained English cultural distaste for evangelical religion, with its tendency to censorious narrow-mindedness and philistinism. Evangelism carries a heavy freight of post-19th-century revivalist practices, including dubious and scandalous episodes.

But there is a deeper difficulty for those who can still recognise authentically Christian elements in the flawed modes of the evangelical and revivalist instinct, and that is the problem of complexity and commitment. To belong to the modern world is to have at least indirect awareness of a huge range of lifestyles, both from the human past and in our own day. Those who read even a little Christian history immediately are confronted with the contradictory views and practices commended in the name of Christ. But evangelism smacks of simplified alternatives, of light and darkness, good and evil. Is not the world simply too full of ambiguous differences for such apparent bled by the puzzlement bred by complexity and ambiguity has

a different significance for scholars and for non-scholars, and so far theologians have shown inadequate sensitivity to the latter's dilemma. Scholars, after all, are trained to handle complexity and enjoy argument. The rationality of their decisions has the implicit support of the prestige of their institutions. But the ordinary laity have no such backing. Their religious activities (if any) are evaluated in a secular and pluralistic culture as a privately chosen hobby.

Single-minded commitment (of which the Christian gospel speaks) looks indistinguishable from fanaticism. Lay Christians may come to see their church membership at secular evaluation as a provisional involvement in what Robert Bellah, the US sociologist, has called a life-style enclave. It will survive only if certain unexpected needs are fulfilled, for example for the provision of entertaining worship in comfortable cultural styles.

The power of contemporary fundamentalism lies precisely in its realisation that the impact of pluralism is felt most acutely by the laity. In its evangelism, therefore, it consciously distances itself from churches with long histories, and seeks to reassure the believer that he or she has joined the most successful available religious option. It resolves the dilemma of Christianity's complex past by ignoring it, except where it can

be communicated in rigorously controlled packets of information.

A contemporary Christian understanding of evangelism in the historic churches has much to learn from fundamentalism. It has to take seriously the "dilemma of commitment" for a modern lay person and begin to give at least an outline answer to the difficulty of Christianity's internal ambiguities. A coherent account of the church's pluralism must be part of its evangelism. In other words, for faith to be capable of being a matter of authentic joy and confidence, the church itself as a proclaimer of the faith has to be simultaneously interpreted.

Both acquaintance with the Old Testament and ordinary church experience, honestly acknowledged, ought to enable a believer to confront the realities of ignorant failure, persistent ordinary sinfulness and occasional culpable wickedness which, together with responses to God's undeviating fidelity, constitute the stuff of Christian history.

Modern evangelism from the historical churches has to accept the challenge of simplification, without also failing to offer an interpretation of their own complex and ambiguous history. My desire for this decade is that good evangelical practice, rather than extensive debate, will help us reclaim the word evangelism without apology.

The writer is Bishop of Ely









Taking the message to the front line: a service is held in the sands of the Western Desert in 1942, as two crew of an armoured car keep a lookout for enemy aircraft

## Onward, Christian soldiers

More than 30 chaplains are accompanying our services in the Gulf.  
George Hill examines the dilemma of men of peace who go to war

As usual when great armies are drawn up ready to start killing each other, the troops on both sides of the battle lines in the Gulf have men of religion among them, to sustain and comfort them in their efforts. For Christians and Muslims alike, it is a venerable custom of war.

Britain has about 35 services chaplains with the forces in the front line, sharing many of the dangers of combat. They are on the military payroll and under military command, but they are bound on no account to take up arms against the enemy. Rather like court jesters mocking the solemnities of a medieval court, they represent licensed pacifism within the structure of the military machine.

For them, a confrontation such as this is the definitive crisis of the vocation they have chosen. It is at such a moment that they should be of most use. But their role is a paradoxical one, on the face of it. In the midst of war (and for purposes of war, to the extent that military hierarchies employ them because they find that they have a good effect on morale), they preach the gospel of peace, humility and the turning of the other cheek to men preparing themselves to go out and kill or be killed.

All of them must have contemplated this paradox many times in theory, but in recent times they must have hoped that it would never be tested in a conflict between armies equipped with all the destructive fire power of modern war. When only a small minority of the British take any active part in formal worship, the role of chaplain might have come to seem both morally equivocal and marginal.

The standard establishment is one chaplain for every 870 personnel, with denominations broadly reflecting those of the troops they serve. The RAF has six chaplains in the Gulf, three of them Anglican, two "Church of Scotland or

Free Church", and one Roman Catholic. The Royal Navy has a total of four. The army, which bears the main brunt of the diplomatic problems of maintaining chaplaincy services in a region where Muslim susceptibilities are extreme, treats information about the deployment of sky-pilots as a military secret. But the size of Britain's land forces indicates that there must be about 25 chaplains with them.

Traditionally, all services chaplains have been men. But this is no longer the case as far as the Free Churches are concerned, and in 1989 the RAF commissioned the Reverend Jacqueline Petrie, a minister of the United Reformed Church, as its first female chaplain. It is highly improbable that she has been sent to the Gulf.

Scruples about religion in war were once not so keenly felt. In the Old Testament, at least, there is ample basis for the concept of a vengeful God lending strength to the arm of the faithful as they scatter the ungodly. In the 11th century, bishops rode out at the head of their troops to give battle in person — even against Christian enemies. English armies had taken chaplains with them on an informal basis for centuries before a regular chaplains' department was set up in 1796.

Since the first world war, a rhetoric which harnessed God blatantly to the interests of one empire or another has come to seem intolerably false. Religious leaders in Baghdad may be preaching the rhetoric of holy war, but on the other side the mood is far graver.

"There is no jingoism among our forces, and as chaplains we know that we have no glib answers to put forward," says the Ven. Brian Halfpenny, chaplain in chief to the Royal Air Force, who has been a priest among airmen for 26 years. "We do not go happily into conflict, and neither do the servicemen. There is great agonising about the

guards, says: "I found that issues of that kind were the least of my worries then."

"There was a degree of heart-searching over whether it was a just war, but the men were aware that there had been a fantastic amount of diplomacy to prevent things coming to the point of conflict. The mood was thoughtful, as they prepared themselves personally for what might be going to happen. We had services every day on the ship. I went round talking to as many people as possible, because it is most important for a chaplain to have made his mark before the possibility of conflict takes place. As

*'The important thing was the matter of holding people's hands and listening. Almost everybody coming out of battle needs to talk about it'*

rightness of what we are doing. But I think there has been an over-emphasis on the linkage between Christian faith and pacifism. There is an emphasis in Christianity on living in the real world, and remaining as faithful as possible to our vision without losing sight of the necessities we face. There is a point at which doing nothing simply connives at evil, and armed conflict becomes a lesser evil than the alternative."

In practice, fundamental questions of right and wrong tend to fall into the background when troops are face to face with action. Ministers and laymen alike have been over the basic issues long before, at whatever depth they have found necessary, and they tend not to agonise over them again at that stage. It is not general questions that came to the fore, but immediate personal ones.

The Reverend Angus Smith, a Church of Scotland minister who travelled to the Falklands as padre to the 2nd Battalion, the Scots

we talked, they would often bring out a picture of a wife or a girlfriend, or a pet, to show me. I saw that as an unspoken prayer that they would be brought back to them."

Mr Smith came ashore with his troops, and was with them when the assault was made on Mount Tumbledown. "I was located at the regimental aid post, a kind of murky tent half a mile behind the front line. Injured men were brought there before being moved back to the field hospital. Even with minor injuries, the first thing they want to know was: 'I'm not going to die, am I, padre?' I could hold their hand, and pray with them if they wanted that. By then we knew each other so well that I had no doubt that I had a spiritual *raison d'être* about being there."

At much the same time, the Reverend David Barlow, a naval chaplain, was aboard the fleet's hospital ship, the *Uganda*. "I helped with some basic first aid, but the more important thing was

the simple old-fashioned matter of holding people's hands and listening," he says. "Almost everybody coming out of battle needs to talk about it. Then they want to know what has happened to their friends. One chap attempted to kill himself, because he thought he had left an injured man aboard the burning *Sir Galahad* without having tried as hard as he should to rescue him. I was able to find the man he thought he had left behind, and bring them together."

The deeper psychological wounds may not begin to emerge until long after the conflict. Chaplains emphasise the need to encourage men to talk through their experiences. In some cases, this may happen spontaneously: Mr Smith praises the "therapeutic work done unconsciously by groups of soldiers themselves". But an army chaplain who has worked in Northern Ireland says: "It is not easy for soldiers to unbutton, and get over the instinct to keep a stiff upper lip."

What if a chaplain found himself sent on a mission which he felt to be morally unjustifiable? Every Christian must make his own judgment about the rights and wrongs of an enterprise in which he is involved. Should he refuse when ordered to go?

"I have never been in that situation, but I think I would feel that my task would be to minister to the spiritual needs of the people on that mission," Mr Smith says. "But I have taken the Queen's shilling. If ordered to go, I would have my say to the people in authority, and afterwards I might think of resigning my commission. But, even if I had reservations, I would still see it as my duty to God to go."

A minister who has taken the Queen's shilling still has to make his own judgments about what he owes to Caesar, and what he owes to God. But ministers such as Mr Smith are in no doubt that they are serving God when they serve Caesar — or rather, Caesar's legionaries.

## The Playhouse is the thing

As another theatre is threatened, a personal tribute to a vanished world of repertory

Last week the Liverpool Playhouse, the oldest repertory theatre in England, was granted an Administration Order by the High Court in Manchester. Put like that, with all those capital letters, it might appear that it has been given some sort of award; actually, it means the theatre is facing bankruptcy and cannot go on trading, not unless Mr Gerry or, better still, Mr Moores, of football pools fame, gallops in at the head of the cavalry.

Who cares, I hear you say? Theatres all over the country are sinking to their knees like old bulls. I care because I was formed, informed, by the Liverpool Playhouse.

It is true I went first, aged four, to a girls' college in Formby, then to Merchant Taylors' School in Crosby, then to ballet school in Tring, Hertfordshire, but, apart from the questioning phrase, *quel dommage*, a lasting belief that geometry is a foreign language, an abiding horror of white tights and an addiction to the smell of shellac, my education, if it could be labelled as such, was provided by the Liverpool Playhouse.

I arrived there in 1949, at a time when Williamson Square still had a Clocktower instead of a clock. Of an evening, naphtha flares were lit in buckets and the square flickered in the darkness like a ship bucking at sea. The whole city, to the eyes of an adolescent, was peopled with men with missing arms, sawn off legs, burnt faces remodelled from candle wax. Years later, when I took my children to Madame Tussauds, I felt at home.

In those days one did not need an Equity card to go on the boards, nor was the vulgar subject of money mentioned. I got taken on because my father knew a man who knew a man who had gone to school with a relation of Maud Carpenter, legendary manageress of the theatre. She was unique; big, handsome, ungainly, with a bust like a bolster and an attention to detail which made the theatre a successful enterprise for 40 years.

The first production of that 1949 season was *Friedley's Dangerous Corner*, during which I sat on the prompt stool with the book and wept every night because, just before the curtain fell, the cast danced to a record of "My Foolish Heart". I thought it was the saddest tune I had ever heard and that the actors, resplendent in dinner jackets and long dresses, were the most sophisticated beings in the world.

The second play was about a

country schoolmaster discovering a mathematical genius in his rustic classroom. Just as the play was about to go into rehearsal, the Dundee authorities refused to give a performing licence to the lad who was to act the part of the swot. Within the hour the theatre consulted my mother and I was marched off to the barber for a short back and sides. Don't misunderstand me. My razoring had nothing in common with the shearing of that little sweetheart in the film of *Oliver Twist*. My haircut was of the sort given by real orphanages when nits are suspected. My mother shed a tear, and, from that day forth, I have never allowed my hair to be cut beyond shoulder level.

When I was not acting or understudying I was hiring props, helping to shift scenery, dabbing bits of paint on the backcloth, and running for bacon sandwiches.

The theatre as I knew it did not survive much beyond the Sixties, when, for no good reason apart from so-called progress and innovation, the stairs were moved to the other side of the building and the paint frame and carpenter's shop enlarged. The almost Dickensian world of greasepaint and coke fumes, gas mantles hissing on the landings, cans of beans jumping in an old saucan on the prop-room fire, vanished for ever. But then, so did the old St John's market at the back, the cobbles and the urinal, the News Theatre in Clayton Square and the oyster bar in Cases Street.

Unfortunately, most of the audience disappeared as well, preferring to find its entertainment in snooker clubs and public houses, bingo halls and sitting rooms with television boxes.

There is nothing wrong with change, but there is something wrong with the notion that because something isn't making money or showing an instant return it ought to be done away with. The Liverpool Playhouse does not need a huge amount of cash to keep it on its feet; compared with the cost of a Polaris submarine or one of those newfangled tanks which we all pay for, its annual expenditure is a drop in the ocean. And some people do keep going to the theatre, even if not in such numbers as before. It would be a pity, in this particular case, not to say a tragedy, if the apathy of the many succeeded in putting an end to the enrichment of the few.

BERYL BAINBRIDGE  
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Educational role: a young Beryl Bainbridge was "formed and informed" by the now-troubled Liverpool Playhouse

## Is that Wilson with an accent?

The improbably named French actor and singer Lambert Wilson confronts the issues of war on and off screen



At home: Lambert Wilson says he "belongs to the fog"

would not fight. I suppose I would go to jail.

"I don't accept that the French are undermining the coalition; diplomacy must be tried. But clearly Saddam Hussein has to go, and my generation also feels ashamed of the ambiguity of our government: we were selling Saddam arms until very recently. Now there are rumours of Franco-Iraqi deals. I think a lot of French people feel rather

helpless in the face of high state cynicism.

"I am very pessimistic about the war and the ecological danger we face. I feel we are bound to blow ourselves up sooner or later. I wouldn't even have children at the moment."

*Shuttlecock*, which is adapted from an award-winning Graham Swift novel, is about the aftermath of war, the need to mythologise hero-

ism, and the difficulty of coming to terms with less-than-heroic behaviour. Most importantly, Mr Lambert says, the film deals with relationships between parents and children. "The myths you have about your parents help you to grow up, but in the end, everyone has to adapt to a revised version of who their parents are. This part was particularly interesting to me because the character is belittled by his father. I am the son of an overpowering man: I know what it's like to be the son of a hero."

Mr Wilson recalled once turning up late for the rehearsal of a play his father was directing. "He held up the action while I came through the theatre, on to the stage, found a chair, sat down at the table — an interminable time. Everybody sat there, silent and embarrassed." These days if he is late the reaction is more cavalier. "I think at last he realises I'm serious." They still work together, and have just started rehearsing Anouilh's *Eurydice*.

*Shuttlecock* offered a rare chance to play an Englishman — almost a quintessential Englishman. "I have done other films in English, but almost always playing foreigners. In the Peter Greenaway film *The Belly of An Architect*, I was an Italian; in *Five Days One Summer*, I was Swiss; in an absurd Ital-

American war film called *From Hell To Victory*. I played a member of the French resistance in a beret."

He has done some theatre in this country, including a Cocker play with Maggie Smith, directed by Simon Callow. But, on the whole, Frenchmen are not considered first for English-speaking parts.

Mr Wilson became an actor, and bilingual, because he wanted to be an American film star. "It seemed a glamorous life. I knew nothing about acting except that it meant wearing nice costumes. I was amazed when I arrived at drama school to find all these other students who had thought endlessly about what being an actor meant."

He is thinking of moving to Britain to try to consolidate his career here. If *Shuttlecock* is successful, further British opportunities should follow. His real ambition is to do a musical. "Everyone says the French aren't ready for musicals, but my show has been a big success, and my dream is to do *Sondheim's Sunday In The Park With George*, in France."

GERALDINE BEDELL  
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## BBC 1

- 6.00 Cee-fax  
6.30 BBC Breakfast News with Nicholas Witchell and Jill Dando  
8.55 Daytime UK. Tim Grundy and Judi Squires in Birmingham and Adrian Mills in Manchester present the morning line-up  
9.00 News, regional news and weather 9.05 Brainwave 9.25 Dish of the Day 9.30 People Today. Includes the Kitchen Call phone-in  
10.00 News, regional news and weather 10.05 Playdays 10.25 Rupert (r) 10.35 People Today. Includes the latest trends in cosmetic surgery  
11.00 News, regional news and weather 11.05 See For Yourself. Brian Hayes invites viewers to call Will Wyatt, the BBC's assistant managing director of network television, and Alan Yentob, controller of BBC2 11.45 Before Noon  
12.00 News, regional news and weather 12.05 Wildlife Gems: Gone Fishing. Classic film from the Natural History Unit archive, presented by Fergus Keeling 12.20 Scene Today 12.55 Regional news and weather  
1.00 One O'Clock News with Philip Hayton. Weather 1.30 Neighbours. (Cee-fax) 1.50 Going for Gold  
2.15 Starkey and Hutch: The Velvet Jungle. The two cops uncover a web of corruption that is linked to an immigration racket (r) 3.00 Heat of the Class. American classroom comedy series, presented by Fergus Keeling 3.20 Scene Today 3.40 Thundercats  
3.50 Forget-Me-Not-Farm. Life on a working farm 4.05 Jimbo and the Jet Set. Cartoon 4.10 Jackanory. Helena Bonham Carter with the first five episodes of Philippa Pearce's The Way to Saffron Shore 4.25 The New Adventures of Mighty Mouse (r) 4.40 Thundercats  
5.00 Newsround 5.05 Blue Peter. (Cee-fax)  
5.35 Neighbours (r). (Cee-fax) Northern Ireland: Sportswide 5.40 Inside Ulster  
6.00 Six O'Clock News with Peter Sissons and Moira Stuart. Weather 6.30 Regional News Magazines. Northern Ireland: Neighbours  
7.00 Wogan. The guests include John Sessions  
7.30 Watchdog includes an investigation into herbal products which claim to help women through the menopause  
8.00 May to December. Unlikely generation gap sitcom. (Cee-fax)



Drinking in the delights of an urban lifestyle: a raccoon (8.30pm).

- 8.30 Wildlife on One: Back Street Bandits.  
● CHOICE: Agile and sharp-witted, the raccoon is becoming a pest in increasingly urban settings. In the cities of North America, it can carry rabies and is capable of extensive damage but Karen Bass's film prefers to celebrate the creature's ingenuity and intelligence. Everywhere the raccoon goes, the camera goes with it, even into the sewers beneath Washington DC. In Toronto we meet a woman who has been feeding raccoons for 25 years and finds them out there. Other householders regard them as pests and invest in raccoon-proof garbage bins. But just as effective, it seems, is an aggressive cat, which scatters the invaders as if they had been repulsed by gunfire. For the reproduction sequence without which no wildlife film would be complete, Back Street Bandits locates the mother and offspring on a ledge inside a chimney and follows the youngsters' first nervous steps into the outside world. (Cee-fax)  
9.00 Nine O'Clock News with Michael Barker. (Cee-fax) Regional news and weather  
9.30 Panorama: Is War Inevitable? presented by David Dimbleby. From Washington, Tom Mangelsen assesses the mounting pressure on President Bush as he wrestles with the decision to launch what could be the biggest conflict since the second world war. In Britain, John Ware reports on the growing debate about whether peaceful alternatives have been ignored  
10.10 Mancuso FBI: Daryl Ross and the Supremes. An attempt on the life of a Supreme Court judge leads Mancuso to look into a series of letters bomb threats  
10.55 The Rock 'n' Roll Years, 1977 - It is the Queen's Silver Jubilee and punk rock is at its height. Providing the music were the Strangers and Queen (r)  
11.25 Advice Shop. An estimated 100,000 young people run away from home every year. The programme investigates why they leave, where they go and what can be done to help these vulnerable members of society (r) 11.55 Weather

## BBC 2

- 8.00 News  
8.15 Openway Watch. An RSPB film which follows the setting up of an annual spray watch on Loch Garten in the Scottish Highlands  
8.30 Daytime on Two. Second in the series on team 8.50 Buttebae and the North American Indians 9.05 For the very young 9.20 A Look at prayer around the world 9.40 Maths 10.00 A Lost Mitten, a story from the Ukraine 10.18 A fantasy musical journey 10.40 Working as a BFI technician and an air traffic controller 11.00 Movement 11.22 Science for five and six-year-olds 11.35 Science in sport 11.55 The work of two painters, a photographer and a graduating fashion designer 12.15 History: the Pacific revolution of 1955 12.35 Why do young people take up smoking 1.00 Fight and aerodynamics 1.20 Greenclaws 1.40 The Phoenix of Egypt  
2.00 News and weather followed by Storytime (r) 2.15 Songs of Praise (r). (Cee-fax) 2.50 Behind the Screen. Fiona Adam meets Jimmy Savile behind the scenes of a new series of Jim F Fox It which starts on BBC1 on Saturday  
3.00 News and weather followed by Gold Fever. A documentary about the new gold rush in Western Australia (r) (Cee-fax) 3.50 News, regional news and weather  
4.00 Catchword. Paul Coia hosts the afternoon quiz show for word game fanatics  
4.30 Behind the Headlines. Palestinian academic and writer Edward Said discusses with Jane Corbin cultural differences in the light of the Gulf situation  
5.00 Film: Trouble Brewing (1939, b/w). George Formby stars as George Gullip, a newspaper printer who turns detective to catch a gang of counterfeiters and win the hand of the news editor's secretary, played by Gypsy Kings. A colourful unrepentant comedy built around Formby's toothy charm, and one of the films which helped to make him one of the popular British film stars of the Thirties. With support from the best-headed Gary Marsh, who appeared in several Formby pictures, Ronald Shiner and Marjorie Hunt. Directed by Anthony Kimmins



Spreading the musical word in LA: rapper Will Smith (8.30pm)

- 6.30 DEF II begins with The Fresh Prince of Bel Air. New hit American comedy starring Grammy-winning rap star Will Smith as a street-wise homeboy from Inner-city Philadelphia who is sent to California to live with his wealthy relatives 6.55 Snub. New series of the cult music show which features videos, live and studio performances and interviews. Guest includes the original dub master Jah Shaka 7.25 288 Useful Ideas from Japan. A sci-fi travelogue exploring the order that underlies Tokyo's chaos  
7.35 Choir of the Year. Howard Goodall takes a look at Britain's top amateur choirs as they compete in the first quarter-final of the Seabury's Choir of the Year  
8.10 Horizon: Keen as Mustard.  
● CHOICE: With chemical weapons likely to be used by Iraq during a war in the Gulf, this film from a Melbourne-based independent recalls how experiments with mustard gas were secretly carried out in Australia during the second world war. Mustard gas had been used in the first world war, by the Japanese in Manchuria and the Italians in Ethiopia. But little was known about its effects and its effectiveness. With the Japanese now threatening Australia, a British scientific team was sent out and recruited 1,000 Australian soldiers to act as voluntary guinea pigs. Participants fell or having to suffer from chemical warfare on its most sensitive parts of their bodies and then being sent on a six-mile route march. Some say that they are still suffering more than 40 years later. General MacArthur was eager to use mustard gas against the Japanese. The Americans decided to drop atom bombs instead. (Cee-fax)  
9.00 Film: Sunday - Too Far Away (1975). Jack Thompson, Phyllis Ophel and Reg Lye star in an archetypal story of the outbreak which provided the new Australian cinema with one of its more distinguished offerings. The film charts the rivalry between a group of Ffifteen sheep farmers and how this gives way to unity in the face of the government's attempts to withdraw their bonus payment. The theme of male camaraderie is explored sensitively but without sentimentality. Directed by Ken Hannan  
10.30 Newsnight with Peter Snow  
11.15 The Late Show. Arts and media magazine 11.55 Weather 12.00 Behind the Headlines. See 4.30. Ends at 12.35am

## ITV

- 8.00 TV-am  
9.25 Runway. Richard Madeley presents the high-flying quiz 9.55 10.00 News and weather  
10.00 The Time. The Place... John Stapleton chairs a discussion on a topical subject  
10.40 This Morning. Family magazine show presented by Richard Madeley and Judy Finnigan  
12.05 Rosie and Jim. Children's series 12.25 Home And Away 12.55 Thames News and weather  
1.00 News and weather  
1.20 Thames Help. A preview of the week's evening programmes which will be looking at the disability arts scene 1.50 A Country Practice. Australian soap set around a rural medical centre  
2.20 Donatus. Phil Donatus meets couples who would prefer to forget about their wedding day  
3.15 News headlines 3.20 Thames News 3.25 Families  
3.55 Josie Smith and the New Teacher 4.00 Noddy The Elephant 4.10 Toucan Ties - The Adventures of Zippy and Zac 4.20 T-Bag and the Rings of Olympus 4.45 Court Duckula. Cartoon  
5.10 Who's the Boss? Role reversal sitcom  
5.40 News (Oracle) and weather  
5.55 Thames Help investigates access to the arts for the disabled  
6.00 Home And Away (r)  
6.30 Thames News and weather  
7.00 Wish You Were Here... The travel programme sends Judith Chalmers to visit an indoor holiday centre in Belgium; John Carter travels to the ancient county of Rutland; and there is a visit to one of the world's newest national parks. (Oracle)  
7.30 Coronation Street. (Oracle)  
8.00 The Rann Lucas Show. Ventriquoist Ronn Lucas introduces magic and mime with Tina Lerner and Matt Plend, while his puppet, Billy the Cowboy, takes part in an amazing high-wire routine  
8.30 World in Action: The Child Killers of Brazil. A chilling report about the children who are tortured, shot dead and dumped on the streets of Brazilian cities every day. There are interviews with street children, bereaved mothers and despairing squatted families  
9.00 No Job for a Lady. Liable and inoffensive political sitcom with Penelope Keith as a Labour MP. (Oracle)  
9.30 About Face: This For The Half Darling.  
● CHOICE: The second of the Maureen Lipman vehicles is a variation on the golfing widow joke by Richard Harris (in the play, not the actor), who dealt with a similar theme in his 1961 comedy Quixote. Lipman plays a dutiful middle-class housewife, making loads of excuses and then helping the children with the music lessons. She tries to tell herself she is fulfilled but she is really making the best of it while hubby is out playing golf. When he tries to appease her by offering her a golf lesson, the roles become reversed and he gets left behind with the shopping and the kids. The plot holes few surprises but Harris manages to keep it bubbling, aided by his performances from Lipman and Mark Kingston as the wife and husband. Women's libbers may be pleased to see that a male writer has been recruited for the cause. (Oracle)



Teed-off: Mark Kingston and Maureen Lipman (8.30pm)

- 10.00 News at Ten (Oracle) and weather 10.30 Thames News and weather  
10.40 Film: Intrigue (1988). Effective made-for-television spy thriller with Scott Glenn as an American intelligence agent assigned to smuggle a defector out of the Soviet Union. Directed by David Drury  
12.30am Sportsworld Extra. Tony Francis introduces golf coverage from across the Atlantic where Nick Faldo, Greg Norman, Jack Nicklaus and Curtis Strange are competing in the US Skins tournament  
1.30 Film: Killer in the Mirror (1986). A confusion of personality plot about identical twins, one playing for the destruction of the other while pretending to be charming to her face. With Ann Jillian and Len Cariou. Directed by Frank DeFelitta  
3.30 Cover Story. A celebration of the life and career of veteran comedian Bob Hope (r). Followed by News headlines  
4.00 American College Football. Syracuse takes on West Virginia  
5.00 ITN Morning News. Ends at 6.00

## CHANNEL 4

- 6.00 The Art of Landscape. Soothing music and beautiful natural images  
6.20 Business Daily  
6.30 The Channel Four Daily  
9.20 Schools  
12.00 All Muck and Magic? Alan Gey introduces the series about organic gardening which today looks at home-made insecticides, how to make mulch from weeds and how to build a stone wall (r). (Teletext)  
12.30 Business Daily. Financial and business news service  
1.00 Sesame Street. Educational fun for pre-school children. With guest Paul LaBelle  
2.00 Film: I Didn't Do It (1945, b/w). George Formby is accused of murder in a theatrical boarding house, giving a slightly darker edge to the usual Formby mixture of slapstick and slightly naughty songs. Made towards the end of Formby's film career but a useful memento of the Lancashire comedian. Directed by Marcel Varnel  
3.50 The Frog, The Dog, The Devil. New Zealand cartoon warning of the evils of alcohol  
4.00 Travelog. Fashion conscious globetrotter and journalist Roger Elms, who lets trousers as one of his interests, presents an alternative guide to Paris. Helping him is the comedian Pete McCarthy (r)  
4.30 Countdown  
5.00 The Late Late Show. Gay Byrne presents the lively late-night music and chat show from Dublin  
6.00 Roseanne. Wisecracking American sitcom about the trials of a working class mother. Starring Roseanne Barr and John Goodman (r)  
6.30 Tonight with Jonathan Ross. The guests are funny man Tony Slattery, green activist David Icke and soul singer Alexander O'Neal  
7.00 Channel 4 News. (Teletext)  
7.50 Comment followed by Weather  
8.00 Brookside. Liverpoolian soap charting the ups and downs of the residents of a suburban cul-de-sac. (Teletext)  
8.30 My Two Dads. Lame American comedy about 12-year-old Nicole (Staci Keanan) who is being brought up by her two very different fathers - Michael, an ambitious young businessman, and Joey, a free-spirited artist



A blinkered admiration of Franco: Captain Javier (9.00pm)

- 9.00 Spain - In the Shadow of the Sun.  
● CHOICE: Captain Javier of the parachute regiment is the latest representative Spaniard used to test the ideology of post-Franco Spain. The captain is a traditionalist who professes to know nothing of the politics of the Franco regime but admires him as a soldier. He tells new recruits that the regime is possibly the best in the world and warns them there is no place for drug addicts, homosexuals, thieves or layabouts. What the gay community thinks of this juxtaposition is not revealed. It is a polished and informative documentary which brings out the tensions among the military as they adjust to their subordinate role in the post-Franco democracy. Captain Javier is a sturdy nationalist so willing to fight for his country that you feel a period without war would almost be a deprivation. But he seems to have come to terms with a society where the old values are not as strong as he would like. (Oracle)  
10.00 The Managers. Watchable drama about the rise and fall of a manager (Cherie Lunghi) of a struggling second division football club (r). (Oracle)  
11.00 Film: My Macondo (1980). Julio Roca is the Colombian journalist who sets out in search of Macondo - setting of Gabriel Garcia Marquez's great novel One Hundred Years of Solitude. At Macondo generations of Buendias lived and died before the great massacre following the strike against the United Fruit Company. If the place in fiction, then why are people so afraid to speak of it? It is real, where have all the official records gone? In the end, it is necessary to talk with Marquez himself. Directed by Dan Weldon  
12.15am Cycle of Life. Attila El-Aboudi explores rural Egyptian life in this portrait of the small village of Aboud. Here the villagers continue to work with such traditional tools as the water wheel and the flour mill, at the same time aspiring towards material goods and a sound education for their children. Ends at 1.20

## ANGELA

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Film: Twilight Zone - The Movie 11.55 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## BORDER

As London except 1.20pm-3.15 Film: The Vengeance of the Sea 5.10-6.40 Home and Away 8.00 London Weekend 8.30-9.00 Border Bowls 11.40 The Law and Henry McGraw 12.40am Film: The Duvich Horror 2.15 Pick of the Week 2.45 The Twilight Zone 3.40 Kin World 4.00-6.00 The Hit Man and Her

## CENTRAL

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Cooking with Kuma 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## GRANADA

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Plesian 2.50-3.15 Sons and Daughters 3.10-4.40 The Munters Today 5.30-7.00 Granada Tonight 10.40 Premier: Call Clock 11.15 The News

## RADIOS

- 6.55am Morning News and News  
7.00 Morning Concert:  
Katharine (Adagio, Spontaneous) List (Totentanz Boston SO)  
7.30 News  
7.35 Morning Concert (cont):  
Charles Mackerras conducts Haydn (Symphony No 31 in D, Homage), Orchestra of St Luke's; Holst (Satell, The Perfect Fool, RLPD); Stravinsky (Circus Polka: LPO)  
8.30 News  
8.35 Composers of the Week: Léo Delibes and Jules Massenet. Delibes (Les Fides de Cadix, Ballet music in F major); Massenet (O noble love, etincelle, Le Cid, Act 3; Ballet music, Le Cid, Act 3; Ballet music, Le Cid, Act 3; Ballet music, Le Cid, Act 3)  
9.35 With Cuckoo and Nightingale: Scarlatti (Sonatas in A minor and A, Kk 532-3; Christian Zacharias, piano Schubert Quartet; in C minor, D 703; Alberti Quartet); Mozart (Fantasia in C minor, K 475, for piano); Paganini (Violin Concerto No 2, Op 18; Concerto in G minor and G, Kk 425 and 427; Christian Zacharias); Bach (Fantasia and Fugue for organ in G minor, BWV 542; John Scott); Handel (Concerto in F, The Cuckoo and the Nightingale: English Concert under Peter Pinnock); Dvorak, arr. A. Hasefeld (Five Bagatelles for strings, Op 47; Camerata Nova); Honegger (Sonata for cello and piano)  
12.10pm BBC Scottish SO under Christopher Adley performs Saint-Saëns (Danse macabre); Canteloube (Songs of the Auvergne, excerpt); Debussy (Printemps)  
1.00 News  
1.05 Lunchtime Concert:  
Guarnieri Quartet Members perform Obohrny (Gerenda for C, Op 10); Beethoven (Cello Trio, Op 9 No 1) (Cello Trio, Op 9 No 1)  
2.00 Third Opinion (r)  
2.45 The Bells. The Pells: Charles Bodman Rae presents the first of three programmes exploring the music influenced by the sound of central European bells. Schubert (Das Zugen-schubert, D 871); Liszt

## Averton 12.40am Film: The Duvich Horror 2.15 Pick of the Week 2.45 The Twilight Zone 3.40 Kin World 4.00-6.00 The Hit Man and Her

## HTV WEST

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## HTV WALES

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## TSW

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## TVS

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## S4C

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## TYNE TEES

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## YORKSHIRE

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## Main Box 4.35-5.00 Jubilee

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## NETWORK 2

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.05 80 Minutes

## SKY NEWS

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## SKY MOVIES

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## SKY ONE

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## THE MOVIE CHANNEL

As London except 1.20pm-1.50 Discovering Gardens 2.20-3.15 10 Tomorrow Comes 3.25-7.00 News 10.40 Angela Reports 11.10 Sportsweek 12.00 The Fugitive 3.00 Chart Show 4.0



# Budget review rules out spring election

By ANATOLE KALETSKY AND SHEILA GUNN

THE government has virtually excluded the possibility of a spring general election. A reflationary pre-election Budget was said to have been firmly rejected by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as Treasury ministers returned to London last night after their weekend budget review.

Treasury officials offered a grim outline of Britain's economic and financial prospects to Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, and other ministers who joined him for the

traditional budget planning weekend at Chevening in Kent. Meanwhile, John Major acknowledged on television that the Conservative party was not yet ready to fight for a fourth term and ruled out a spring general election.

Although the Treasury forecasts considered at Chevening were deliberately left open-ended, pending developments in the oil market and the Gulf, officials made clear that there would inevitably be big downward re-

visions in estimates of economic activity, tax receipts and employment. A government deficit as high as £7 billion is widely expected for the next financial year by City economists and that is believed to be consistent with the estimates made by the Treasury model. Despite the growing demands from the City for a reflationary fiscal policy to combat recession, the Chancellor is believed to have agreed with the Treasury view that a deliberately expansionary budget would be counter-productive.

Treasury officials and ministers have rejected as "siren calls" the suggestions that fiscal policy should now be used to manage the economy, because the room for manoeuvre on interest rates has been limited by membership of the European exchange-rate mechanism. The Treasury view is that a deliberately reflationary budget would undermine confidence in sterling as surely as a premature cut in interest rates. The principle of fine tuning with fiscal policy is still viewed with great suspicion.

Monetary policy, on the other hand, is still expected to come back into its own, once the credibility of the government's commitment to ERM membership is firmly established. By standing firm against the demands for reflation, the Chancellor hopes to convince the markets that inflation will fall rapidly and a devaluation of sterling is out of the question. Interest rates could then be allowed to drift slowly downwards in line with Britain's declining inflation rate.

That policy would not preclude a cut in interest rates before the Budget if sterling remained stable at around its present level against the mark. Neither would it require the Chancellor to squeeze the economy further to make up for shortfalls in tax revenues which were purely due to recession.

The prime minister said on TV-am's *First on Sunday* programme that it would very probably be a miracle if the government's work for a general election was finished in weeks rather than months. "I have never been a cut-and-run merchant," he added. "In theory the earliest date could be 20 days from now, but it isn't going to be."

In an interview for *Woman's Own* magazine Mr Major also emphasized the amount of work to be done before going to the country and cited as priorities education, the health service and the community charge review.

"There's a huge amount for us to do, an awful lot of holes to fill in. And all the things we wish to achieve depend on getting control of inflation. But I'm confident the inflationary problem we have at the moment will begin to fall away, though it will sometimes mean taking difficult and unpopular decisions in the short-term."

## Soviet tanks crush human barricade

Continued from page 1

gashes. "The tanks then drove straight at the crowd and the battle was launched to clear the perimeter around the tower," he said. "No one knows what they did inside the tower."

In the noise and confusion, troops hurled sun grenades at the tower and fired their Kalashnikov assault rifles directly at the crowds outside. Dozens of people were seen falling to the ground. The crowds then parted, and the troops seized the tower in a hail of bullets.

As bystanders stood in the rain weeping at the horror of the killings, some said they had seen soldiers putting bodies in their tanks and carrying others into the television tower.

In anticipation of an attempt to seize the television tower hundreds of people had stood in a round-the-clock vigil there for the past few days. None had foreseen the ferocity of the onslaught.

After securing the tower, and mounting a heavy guard outside, a similar attack was launched on the television and radio broadcasting studios a mile away. This time, protesters gave way as soon as the green-helmeted troops in battle-gear arrived. There were no further injuries. The troops were joined by several dozen men wearing red armbands, who took up positions around the studios, inside the cordon of troops.

Onlookers said they belonged to Yedinstvo, a pro-Moscow organisation whose membership is

mostly from the ethnic Russian minority.

The scene at Hospital No 1, less than two miles from the tower and already fully stretched, was appalling. Almost without warning, staff in the full wards had to face an influx of dead and wounded, many bleeding badly. Operating theatres were cleared and emergency surgery began. Extra beds were placed in the corridors.

Medical staff willingly allowed reporters to see the severity of the gunshot wounds of the injured and of those in the hospital mortuary. Among the dead were an elderly woman and a 13-year-old girl. The rest were men. All had died of gunshot wounds.

As light rain fell during the morning, armoured personnel carriers and light tanks toured the city's streets with loudspeakers, explaining the terms of the curfew and urging the people to stay at home. But thousands stood outside the parliament building, as they had for four days in response to an appeal by President Vytautas Landsbergis to defend the building. Lithuanian radio broadcast an appeal for people from all parts of the republic to converge on Vilnius to guard the parliament. But the ferocity of the overnight attack had clearly drained much of the tenacity out of many residents.

"We can only expect the most tragic of outcomes," said a policeman stationed outside parliament, shrugging his shoulders. "Resist? We have no weapons. We can only do our best to defend our people."

## Forty die in soccer crush

FROM REUTERS IN JOHANNESBURG

FORTY people were trampled to death yesterday in a stampede to escape spectators fighting at a football match on the Rand south-west of Johannesburg.

The victims, who included two children, were crushed as they tried to squeeze through a jammed stadium exit during a match in

Orkney between two of the country's top teams, Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates.

More than 50 people were injured. A police spokesman said trouble erupted when some of the 20,000 spectators started arguing over the referee's decision to allow a goal by Kaizer Chiefs.



Picard discard: protesters dump their slogans after a Kuwaiti march in Hyde Park. Report, page 8

## Britain expels 28 Iraqi diplomats

By MICHAEL BANYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

BRITAIN yesterday ordered 28 Iraqi diplomats and embassy staff to leave the country within 48 hours, leaving only two diplomats and two technical staff in Britain.

Azmi Shafiq al-Salhi, the ambassador, was summoned to the Foreign Office and told that, in view of the current state of relations, the present level of staffing at the embassy was unjustified.

Relations, however, are not being broken, and Dr Salhi and his deputy will be allowed to remain in London to keep open a

direct channel of communication with Baghdad.

The British move follows a similar decision by the United States on Saturday to reduce the number of Iraqi diplomats to four. If the Iraqi diplomats are not gone within 48 hours, they will be declared *persona non grata*. Their families have a week to leave.

The expulsions follow an order on January 3 that Iraq withdraw eight diplomats. A further 67 Iraqis were also told to leave Britain on the ground that they represented a security threat. All

British diplomats have left Baghdad, although the embassy remains officially open. Harold Walker, the ambassador, left for Jordan on Friday.

Diplomats from all over the world streamed out of Baghdad at the weekend. Only a few embassies were still staffed yesterday, including those of France, China, Cuba, the Soviet Union, Japan and several of Iraq's Arab allies. Most had only skeleton staff. America lowered the flag over its embassy on Saturday, as its remaining diplomats departed.

## UN chief leaves in grim silence

Continued from page 1

brothers" in dangerous moments. Mr Hurd said he had not studied carefully what the Syrian leader said, but he did not believe that Israel was planning or would plan a pre-emptive strike against Iraq. If Israel was attacked by Iraq its response would depend on the nature of what had occurred. How Syria would react would depend on that.

The foreign secretary spoke by telephone to Prince Saud Bin Faisal, the Saudi foreign minister, who confirmed his government's commitment to forcing Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait by military means if necessary.

The Iraqis, meanwhile, pursued their campaign of death threats against the multinational force, forecasting tens of thousands of deaths. In a strange counterpoint thousands of activists marched in Germany, Britain, Spain and Belgium, some against the war and others loudly backing military action.

At Baghdad airport, people scrambled for a flight out. "People were jumping queues, pushing and shoving for fear the flight would be overbooked. There's fear of a total breakdown in order shortly," said one foreigner who reached Amman. Rumours suggested Iraq might shut its airspace to prepare for threatened attack.

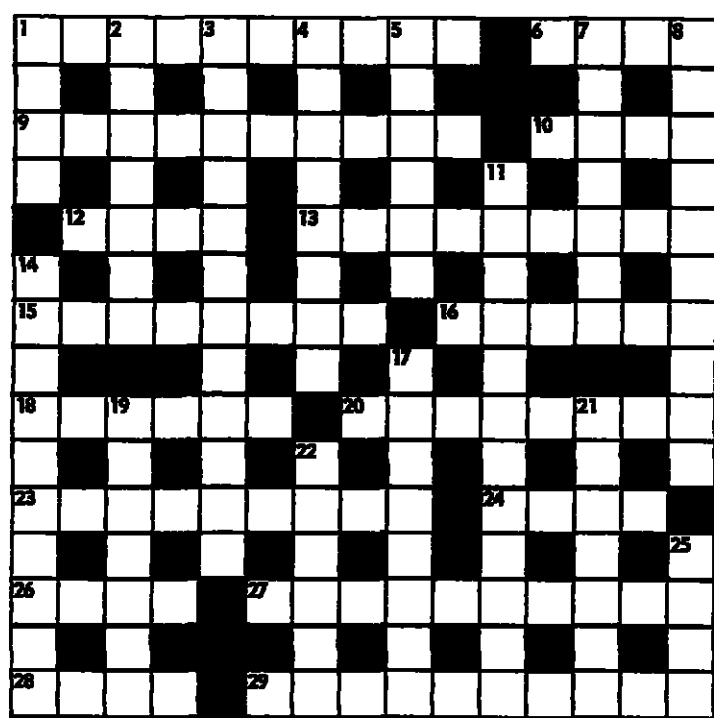
President Saddam's Sunday message, replying to an appeal by Syrian leader Hafez al-Assad to leave Kuwait, urged Syria to join Iraq in fighting US-led forces, forecasting that Kuwait would be the "theatre of the great battle between the believers and the infidels." Damascus has sent thousands of troops to join the multinational force in Saudi Arabia and insists its long-standing regional rival give up Kuwait.

In the Saudi desert, allied troops opposing President Saddam headed for the frontline in the north, ready for the order to attack. Weekend winter rains brought unusual discomfort for soldiers sleeping under camouflage netting but also helped lay the dust kicked up by manoeuvring tanks, and soldiers heading north.

More than one million men are poised for war — more than 615,000 in the US-led multinational force in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, and over 540,000 Iraqis in and around the emirate they seized on August 2. Baghdad has another half million men elsewhere in its standing army in Iraq.

Forecasting tens of thousands of American deaths, inflicted in attempts to breach Iraqi defences, Iraq's Defence Ministry said: "We will not be disclosing a secret when we say that Iraq's arsenal contains surprises which will astonish our enemies and fascinate our friends. This also applies to our military plans."

## THE TIMES CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO 18,502



### ACROSS

- 1 Speaking after party in the workplace? (10).
- 6 Ex-prince oddly heroic (4).
- 9 Noise in train when food is served (6-4).
- 10 One may be seen in water naturally (4).
- 12 M-mood returns with petty quarrel (4).
- 13 Crook ruled in eg London, there being gullibility (9).
- 15 More than just a snout in the cask (8).
- 16 Actor who was comic and evergreen (6).
- 18 Cleaner, a modern miss, shows an attractive quality (6).
- 20 Business deficit with America is a very large figure (8).

### DOWN

- 1 Move round in loud game (4).
- 2 Demand made by republican in commercial career (7).
- 3 Factory sequence is far from exciting (3,2,3,4).
- 4 Count rat, possibly, as this (8).
- 5 Island colonial (6).
- 7 Three times Derby was first (7).
- 8 What could be fancy and sold on seafloor? (5,5).
- 11 Advice on how to make shoe fit? Shut up! (3,1,4,2,2).
- 14 Fashionable lady in the city (10).
- 17 Attendant messenger catches the post finally (8).
- 19 Bill, noble relation (7).
- 21 Extra train takes one into unusual places (7).
- 22 Lines of strain? (6).
- 25 Confusion with communication untimed (4).

**PARKER DUOFOLD**

The solution of Saturday's Prize Puzzle No 18,501 will appear next Saturday. The 5 winners will receive a Duofold fountain pen supplied by Parker

A daily safari through the language jungle. Which of the possible definitions is correct?  
By Philip Howard

### TOFONYMY

#### DERBY HAT

- a. A footballer
- b. A bowler
- c. A racing treble

#### DERBY ON

- a. An antipathy towards
- b. A forced march
- c. A Protestant festival

#### MENTAL CANAL

- a. Zeligist
- b. A hole in the head
- c. A French aqueduct

#### CROAKUMSHIRE

- a. The House of Commons
- b. Northumberland
- c. Newcastle

Answers on page 16, column 1

### ROADWATCH

For the latest AA traffic and roadworks information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

#### LONDON & SE traffic, roadworks

- c. London (within N & S Circs) 731
- M-ways/roads M4-M11 732
- N-ways/roads M1-Dartford T 733
- M-ways/roads Dartford T-M25 734
- M-ways/roads M25-M4 735
- M25 London Orbital only 736

#### National traffic and roadworks

- National motorways 737
- West Country 738
- Wales 739
- Midlands 740
- East Angles 741
- North-west England 742
- North-east England 743
- Scotland 744
- Northern Ireland 745

AA Roadwatch is charged at 33p per minute (cheap rate) and 44p per minute at all other times.

### WEATHER

England and Wales will be generally dry and sunny after a frosty start with the chance of showers in the South-West. Cloud will develop later in central and eastern Scotland. Northern Ireland and western parts of Scotland will be cloudy and breezy, with a few spots of rain in the far northwest. Winds may reach gale force at times in exposed northwestern areas. Outlook: mainly dry and sunny but cloudier in the North-West with rain in places. Widespread frost at night.

### AROUND BRITAIN

MONDAY: 1st thunder, 2nd drizzle, 3rd fog, 4th rain, 5th snow, 6th rain, 7th rain, 8th rain, 9th rain, 10th rain, 11th rain, 12th rain, 13th rain, 14th rain, 15th rain, 16th rain, 17th rain, 18th rain, 19th rain, 20th rain, 21st rain, 22nd rain, 23rd rain, 24th rain, 25th rain, 26th rain, 27th rain, 28th rain, 29th rain, 30th rain, 31st rain, 1st rain, 2nd rain, 3rd rain, 4th rain, 5th rain, 6th rain, 7th rain, 8th rain, 9th rain, 10th rain, 11th rain, 12th rain, 13th rain, 14th rain, 15th rain, 16th rain, 17th rain, 18th rain, 19th rain, 20th rain, 21st rain, 22nd rain, 23rd rain, 24th rain, 25th rain, 26th rain, 27th rain, 28th rain, 29th rain, 30th rain, 31st rain, 1st rain, 2nd rain, 3rd rain, 4th rain, 5th rain, 6th rain, 7th rain, 8th rain, 9th rain, 10th rain, 11th rain, 12th rain, 13th rain, 14th rain, 15th rain, 16th rain, 17th rain, 18th rain, 19th rain, 20th rain, 21st rain, 22nd rain, 23rd rain, 24th rain, 25th rain, 26th rain, 27th rain, 28th rain, 29th rain, 30th rain, 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# BUSINESS

MONDAY JANUARY 14 1991

Executive Editor  
David Brewerton

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## Pan Am pension fund short of cash

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT  
IN NEW YORK

PENSIONERS of Pan Am Corporation face being paid the minimum retirement benefits because the cash strapped airline has failed to pay millions of dollars to keep the pension plan fully funded.

An American government agency, responsible for protecting the employees' rights, is to press the airline for full recovery of more than \$800 million, which it claims Pan Am owes the three pension plans.

A spokesman for the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) said: "We have been monitoring this for some time. We will pursue our case through the bankruptcy court when the time comes."

"There is enough in the fund to pay the minimum but the funds are way below that needed to meet the cost of all the benefits. We objected to the sale of their London routes in court last week because we think they should go up for open tender," he said.

The PBGC is an insurer of company pension plans, and one of three American government agencies that police them. It has the power to terminate the fund and take it over, but says no decision has been made on that. The three funds are currently being run by the Pan Am administrators. The airline disputes the extent of the underfunding and says it is only \$450 million.

According to the PBGC, the pension funds have total liabilities of \$1.4 billion and only \$600 million of assets. Federal documents show that on January 9, 1989, Pan Am owed the three pension funds \$621.3 million. Shortly after that Thomas Plaskett, the chairman and chief executive, admitted publicly that the airline was in dire need of fresh cash.

The airline was due to make a \$53 million payment on September 15, 1990, but instead pledged a third of their Boston-New York-Washington shuttle as collateral to PBGC. It is understood that Northwest Airlines will buy the shuttle for \$150 million of which the first \$53 million will now go to the pension fund and the airline is likely to receive only \$100 million.

**MGN float plan**  
Financial advisers to Robert Maxwell have confirmed that preparations are well advanced for a £500 million flotation of Mirror Group Newspapers by this June.

**Savings outflow**  
There was a net outflow of £114.8 million from National Savings last month although where interest is taken into account there was a net addition to government funding of £88.5 million.

**Coats holds back**  
Coats Viyella, Europe's largest textile group, has played down suggestions that it is near to launching a renewed £200 million bid for Tootal.

THE ROUND	
CHANGE ON WEEK	
US dollar	1.9075 (-0.0285)
W German mark	2.9233 (+0.0126)
Exchange index	93.7 (-0.5)
STOCK MARKET	
FT 30 Share	1646.0 (-13.5)
FT-SE 100	2106.1 (-20.0)
New York Dow Jones	2501.49 (-64.6)
Tokyo Nikkei Avge	23241.02 (-828.16)

TODAY'S	
Australia \$	1.50
Canada \$	1.15
Denmark Kr	11.75
France F	166.50
Germany DM	1.80
Greece Dr	337
Hong Kong \$	10.50
Italy Lira	2000
Japan Yen	160
Netherlands Gld	3.60
Norway Kr	11.80
Portugal Esc	200
South Africa Rd	5.40
Spain Ptas	166.64
Sweden Kr	11.35
Switzerland Sfr	2.20
Turkey Lira	1600
USA \$	1.9075
Yugoslavia Dnr	230.00

## How Thatcher's dream park vanished in the marsh

By MARTIN WALLER

MARGARET THATCHER offered MCA, the American entertainment conglomerate which owns Hollywood's Universal Studios, an aid package worth £200 million to locate its \$1.2 billion film studio and theme park on Rainham marshes in Essex.

But the former prime minister was overruled by her cabinet colleagues over the matter in September, sources suggest.

The theme park, which would have been Britain's second biggest commercial property development with 8 million sq ft of space, dwarfed only by Olympia & York's Canary Wharf, is probably now dead, although no one involved will admit it.

With Steven Spielberg as consultant and attractions from Universal's biggest films, such as *ET*, *Jaws* and *King Kong*, the site

would have been the only European competition to the huge theme park being built outside Paris by Disney Corporation.

But MCA's plans have been derailed, or at least delayed, by the corporation's \$6 billion agreed bid for Matsushita, the Osaka electronics group, the biggest Japanese takeover in America, and by falling attendances at theme parks the world over.

Joint partner at Rainham is the British Rank Organisation, which is also in joint venture with MCA at the film studio and theme park at Orlando, Florida. A Rank spokesman was trying to keep the Rainham pot bubbling last week. "We haven't said we're no longer interested," he said. But "It's gone fairly quiet at the moment." Rainham is unlikely to feature in any talks between Rank and MCA in the near future. The spokesman

added: "Our concern at the moment is to make sure the one in Florida is a success."

The opening of the Orlando theme park in June was a shambles. The 60 ft King Kong attraction went haywire because of computer problems, a promised earthquake failed to register even a mild tremor and the Jaws ride went belly-up. Jaws is still out of commission but Rank is bullish about the latest attraction, based on the *Back to the Future* films.

Mrs Thatcher had always championed Rainham. In June she met Lew Wasserman, aged 76, the chairman and the then largest shareholder in MCA, to make a personal plea. MCA had watched the apparent case with which Disney had extracted a mouth-watering aid package from the French government, which obligingly diverted the fast train route from the Channel tunnel so passengers could

disembark at its Paris attraction. Disney achieved this by threatening to site its park elsewhere, in Spain or even Britain.

MCA was keen to repeat the process in Britain, using the threat of Paris, where it would have been in direct competition with Euro Disney. There were reports of a £250 million package from the French.

Mrs Thatcher's promised deal, however, which would have paid for much of the infrastructure needed to get visitors to the isolated site, was hardly consistent with the then government's policies on investment. While she was talking with MCA, her cabinet was denying Eurotoll, the consortium aiming to build the high-speed rail link to the Channel, £1.9 billion of investment and had just agreed a grudging £5 million for the British film industry.

## Food the only big seller in retail gloom

By ROSS TIEMAN AND GILLIAN BOWDITCH

SHOPKEEPERS are expecting the first year-on-year fall in sales since the Confederation of British Industry began surveying expectations in 1983.

The dismal outlook for January comes amid signs that a late rush to the shops before Christmas was short lived.

Only newsagents, grocers, and other retailers of staple goods reported sales growth in the CBI's latest survey of 522 principal retailers and wholesalers, unveiled today. The

apparently robust health of the grocery sector is confirmed by a study undertaken by Verdict, the market research group, which shows that Britain's supermarkets are the most profitable in the world.

Turnover of grocers and supermarkets rose by 11 per cent in 1990 to reach nearly £41 billion. Even so, 8 per cent of this was due to inflation and 2.6 per cent was attributed to store openings. Like-for-like volume growth was just 0.4 per cent.

Verdict says the leading

supermarket groups have changed from being price-led businesses to quality-led businesses in the last ten years, enabling a large rise in profitability.

The grocers' good fortune contrasts starkly with the pounding suffered by the rest of the high street in the face of high interest rates, recession, and a collapse of consumer confidence in the Southeast.

The CBI's survey shows that overall, December gave the high streets their second successive month of stagnant sales. Shopkeepers had hoped for an upturn, and were deeply disappointed.

Worst hit were retailers of household textiles, furniture, carpets and durable goods such as fridges and vacuum cleaners.

Wholesalers recorded their third successive month of sales below the levels experienced a year ago. Every sector of the wholesale trade now shows a contraction in sales.

Wholesalers reported a sharp weakening in demand, confirming that stores are acting on their gloomy projections by cutting orders from suppliers.

Motor traders are also suffering from much softer demand.

The CBI reports that wholesalers' orders for industrial and building materials were particularly poor, the seasonal downturn notwithstanding. Looking ahead, the survey says, "a further deterioration in demand is anticipated in January accompanied by a build up of stocks."

Car dealers, however, hope for better sales in January, although stocks of unsold vehicles are expected to continue to grow.

Sales were sharply down in December, but not as much as dealers had feared, the CBI says.

## Pay cut at M&S US offshoot

FROM PHILIP ROBINSON IN NEW YORK

BROOKS Brothers, the American menswear chain owned by Marks and Spencer, has cut the basic pay of its 500 sales staff by 25 per cent and created a bigger commission scheme in an attempt to boost flagging sales.

The move will also increase competition among sales staff by allowing them to sell merchandise from other departments. The staff will know the results within a couple of weeks at the end of the Brooks Brothers financial year. Anyone selling only 75 per cent of what they sold in 1989-90 will suffer a 25 per cent pay cut.

Those who sell between 75 and 85 per cent of their 1989 sales will receive 5 per cent of that 10 per cent and those who manage to sell above 85 per cent will receive a 10 per cent commission. Under the previous system, most employees were paid a salary and a flat

commission of 9 per cent whatever they sold.

Brooks said: "This was put in place last October and the experience of other store groups is that it is not difficult for the staff to make up the difference and some will gain considerable benefit from the new system." Marks and Spencer refused to comment.

Some retailers believe the new commission rates could change the gentlemanly image of Brooks Brothers' sales staff. The 172-year-old store chain, which M&S bought four years ago for \$750 million, saw profits plunge by \$6.6 million to the end of September to \$1.5 million.

Last October, Brooks offered leading credit card customers a 25 per cent discount on any item. The result was one of the biggest monthly gains the chain has seen in a long time.

## Changes at Brent Walker

By OUR CITY STAFF



Walker victory

GEORGE WALKER, the head of Brent Walker, has won a victory over some of the company's banks with the appointment of Lord Kindersley, a former director of Lazard's, as the leisure group's new chairman.

There had been pressure to find someone who was less close to Mr Walker.

As expected, John Leach, former managing director of LEP Group, becomes finance director. But Mr Walker, who remains as chief executive, has paid a price. The banks have insisted on the formation of a

finance committee, which will look after the refinancing of the group's £1.4 billion debts, and an audit committee that will oversee and approve the Brent Walker accounts. Mr Walker is not on the latter.

Serving on the audit committee will be the group's two new non-executive directors, Sir Philip Beck, chairman of the construction group John Mowlem, and Alan Clements, former finance director of ICI. For their part the banks have dropped their formal deadline of about February 19.

## Spurs faces no confidence move

By JONATHAN PRYNN

THE board of Tottenham Hotspur plc will face a no confidence motion from small shareholders when the company holds its long delayed general meeting.

The meeting's timing is likely to become clearer this week when Tottenham is expected to publish its accounts for the financial year to the end of May.

Douglas Alexiou, acting chairman of Tottenham, said on Saturday that he regretted the lack of information available to shareholders and that the accounts would be published "very, very soon". Brown Shipley, the merchant bank advising Tottenham, said publication was "imminent".

The decision to press ahead with the no confidence motion was taken at a meeting of the Tottenham Independent Supporters' Association (Tisa) after Saturday's meeting from which Arsenal

also shareholders, attended and expressed anger and frustration at the lack of information being made available by the current management.

"Why does the Tottenham board treat us, the supporters and the shareholders, with such obvious contempt," said one shareholder who had also been at the aborted extraordinary meeting two weeks ago. Tisa will also call for a representative of small shareholders to sit on the Tottenham board.

Representatives of Tisa met Mr Alexiou before and after the match. "We received assurances that all mistakes were in the past and that management were working hard to put them right," said Bernie Kingsley, of Tisa.

Mr Alexiou also said supporters would be consulted ahead of big decisions about the development of the stadium.

been a big contributory factor to the holding company's financial difficulties. Supporters and shareholders will have no clear idea of the future management and ownership of the club until a rescue package has been finalised. Irving Scholar, chairman of the football club and a 26 per cent shareholder in the plc, said recently that a deal was still four to eight weeks away.

Most supporters at Saturday's meeting were in favour of a consortium bid involving Terry Venables, the team manager, in the management of the company as a whole.

Tisa, with 300 members, is trying to recruit at least 100 shareholders holding a minimum 100 shares each to its cause. The company would then be obliged to distribute a circular containing the no confidence resolution to all shareholders.



Confident of being on top: James Cox, whose market-maker starts trading today

## Broker to open for business

By NEIL BENNETT

ONE small firm has decided to open for business today even though market-makers are struggling against low trading volumes and falling commissions. Bikuben-Whitefriars, an Anglo-Danish broker, will begin market-making in 70 smaller company shares.

The firm is headed by James Cox, former deputy head of market-making at Laing & Cruickshank. He plans to run the operation with a staff of five. Bikuben-Whitefriars, owned by Bikuben Bank, Denmark's third largest, is based in London and Wolverhampton. The firm will use existing settlement and administration departments.

Mr Cox said: "There are no easy times to start a market-maker, but now is as good a time as any. There has been such a lack of liquidity in small stocks for so long I take the view that things will alter."

## The facts on foreign currency mortgages.

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# LIT may sue over Levitt accounts

By NICK GILBERT

CHRISTOPHER Castleman's LIT financial services company, which formerly owned 33 per cent of the now collapsed Levitt Group, is the latest City investor to consider legal action over the state of Levitt's accounts when LIT first bought its holding in 1988.

Commercial Union, General Accident and Legal & General, the leading insurers, are also considering legal action to recover near-£20 million losses on buying stakes in the Levitt Group in 1989 and 1990. KPMG Peat Marwick McLintock, liquidator to Levitt, will this morning tell creditors that assets amount to only a few hundred thousand pounds against debts of more than £40 million.

New documentary evidence has also emerged casting doubt on profit projections of £13 million pre-tax for 1990 set out by Chase Manhattan in March and April last year. Chase used these projections in a prospectus that encouraged Commercial Union and General Accident to buy into Levitt Group. LIT sold its holding back to Roger Levitt in early 1990 but took a loss of about £1 million on the £16.55 million it had paid for it. It is now understood to be questioning the 1988 accounts — approved by Stoy Hayward, the auditor — which showed that the Levitt Group made pre-tax profits of about £8 million.

At issue is whether Levitt's accounts sufficiently provided for the return to insurance and

pensions companies of large up-front commission payments that would have to be returned if Levitt clients failed to continue policy payments.

Company documents appear to show that on March 1 last year LIT and Roger Levitt signed a deal cancelling extra profit-related payments due to Mr Levitt and fellow directors if the Levitt Group turned in net profits of more than £6 million in 1989 and £8 million in 1990.

The apparent significance of the earn-out cancellation is that within weeks numbers were circulating showing the £13 million pre-tax forecast for 1990.

The documents also appear to show that the "post-tax" profits of the company for the year ending 31 December 1989 will be such that no payment will be due under the first tranche of the deferred consideration.

And despite the 1990 year being only two months old the two sides agreed that Levitt's financial performance "makes it uncertain that the level of pre-tax profit for the year ending 31 December 1990 will be sufficient to entitle the vendors to any payment under the second tranche."

No accounts since 1988 have ever been produced but internal management numbers indicated that Levitt's profits were about £6 million in 1989. Far from showing rapid growth the £6 million figure is no higher than the 1988 underlying profit figure.



Warning to Michelin: Anne Evans, managing director of Elm Energy &amp; Recycling

## Electricity, the Michelin way

By ROSS TIEMAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

ANNE Evans is looking for a hand from the Michelin man to keep Britain's first tyre-burning power station stoked up.

Mrs Evans, managing director of Elm Energy & Recycling (UK), has signed a letter of intent with the French-owned tyre maker, under which Michelin will supply Elm with worn out tyres from its dealers.

The deal with Michelin, number one in the British tyre market, completes the involvement of all of Britain's

main tyre makers in supplying the project.

When operations begin in mid-1992, the Elm plant at Wolverhampton, West Midlands, will burn 12 million tyres a year, 42 per cent of the tyres scrapped annually in the country. It will generate 22 mw of electricity, sufficient to supply 20,000 homes. Tyres will be burned at very high temperatures, and the fumes will be scrubbed, to minimise emissions.

Midlands Electricity, the regional supply company, is expected to invest about £2 million in the £37 million plant in return for an equity stake. Midlands is contracted to buy the plant's output.

Elm was set up by Mrs Evans, an American with a background in the tyre industry, to build the first power from tyres plant outside America. She is already in talks aimed at developing similar plants, using separate companies and local partners, in Hungary and Belgium.

The commission expects the CAP reform to "have an impact on the Gatt talks".

Britain agrees cautiously. Diplomats believe it could provide a useful signal to Washington that the EC is serious about farm reform, but it would be a mistake to expect a Pandora's box of detailed proposals that could unblock the Gatt talks in time.

Washington remains sceptical that the Community will produce anything new, and that if it does it will arrive too late to save the talks. The American administration holds out little hope of convincing Congress to delay the date by which it may adopt the entire Gatt package as a whole. This is called the "fast track" and expires on March 1, after which Congress could delay the Gatt by seeking individual amendments.

British, American and Gatt officials doubt whether a reformed CAP could influence the Gatt talks early enough to secure success by mid-February. "The fast track is the real deadline," British officials believe. The commission remains outwardly confident of concluding the Uruguay round by March 1.

## CAP may hold key to Gatt solution

From PETER GUILFORD IN BRUSSELS

WORLD trade negotiators from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) will gather in Geneva tomorrow to assess the chances of resuscitating the proposed global free trade regime that collapsed last month.

Arthur Dunkel, the secretary-general of Gatt, raised hopes marginally by calling for the Uruguay round to be revived as soon as possible. "The feeling I had that the round should be reactivated very early this year is confirmed," he said after meeting European commissioners in Brussels, last Thursday.

Little has developed since the talks broke down over the refusal of Europe and America to close the gap over how far and how fast subsidies paid to farmers should be cut. In spite of near agreement on all new trade sectors, except services, the farm deadlock still threatens the outcome of the entire Uruguay round.

Gatt staff in Geneva are pessimistic. They believe the ball is firmly in the European Community's court.

Many are now pinning their hopes on the Community's promises to reform the common agricultural policy (CAP). The gist of the CAP reform package will be to cut surpluses and wasteful farm spending by bolstering farmers' incomes directly, instead of subsidising production. Ray MacSharry, the European commissioner for farms, has said his "revolutionary" reforms could hit British, Dutch and other industrialised farms hardest.

The commission expects the CAP reform to "have an impact on the Gatt talks". Britain agrees cautiously. Diplomats believe it could provide a useful signal to Washington that the EC is serious about farm reform, but it would be a mistake to expect a Pandora's box of detailed proposals that could unblock the Gatt talks in time.

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## GILT-EDGED

## Why long term could be bullish despite Saddam

Britain could be at war this week. Oil prices could double to \$50 a barrel or more. But the gilts market does not seem to have noticed.

Since the end of June, when war worries and rising oil prices had not yet begun to permeate the market, gilts have seen a sharp rally. Of the leading bond markets that comprise the Salomon Brothers' World Government Bond Index, only Australia has seen better returns.

After falling with all bond markets in the third quarter, gilt prices saw a very sharp rise in the fourth, the market as a whole returning 7.45 per cent and long gilts of 15 or more years to maturity returning 8.95 per cent.

If general war worries and rising oil prices were enough to raise ten-year yields from 11.73 per cent in June to 12.20 per cent at the end of September, why were yields only 10.82 per cent on Friday morning when war was possibly only five days away?

The answer lies partly with oil prices.

At the end of September, Brent crude was \$38 a barrel, whereas on Friday it was \$25.50 — less than \$10 higher than at end-June. Not even the oil market seems to be worrying about a war just round the corner.

In part the financial markets have grown bored waiting for war. Investors did not want to sit on their hands when so many other factors were bullish for gilts. After all, the war may never happen.

Before the Iraqi invasion, the consensus City economic forecast was for the British economy to grow by 2.2 per cent in 1991. Now the consensus is for a fall in gross domestic product this year of 0.1 per cent, with many analysts predicting a much larger drop.

The beneficial effect of slower growth on underlying inflation expectations has been buttressed by ERM entry. The first cut in base rates has been made and more cuts — sooner or later — are on the way. And the replacement of Mrs Thatcher as prime minister has improved the Conservatives' opinion poll rating.

From a longer-term view, present nominal yields are still quite high. On our forecast of 5.0 per cent headline inflation by year-end, real ten-year yields are 5.8 per cent. Even taking our forecast of fourth-quarter underlying inflation of 6.6 per cent, real yields are 4.25 per cent.

According to a survey

carried out by Consensus Economics Inc, Britain's expected underlying inflation rate over the next ten years is 4.8 per cent. That suggests real yields on ten-year bonds are 6 per cent — on a par with the best real yields available in Germany, France, the Netherlands and Canada.

What are the risks to the realisation of this apparent underlying value in gilts? The biggest worry is that the government loosens its monetary grip, accommodating an inflationary oil price hike with monetary easing. However, now that Britain is part of the European exchange-rate mechanism, the Bundesbank effectively sets the response to any inflationary supply-side shock. And it will not accommodate.

So what course can we plot for gilts according to different Gulf scenarios?

A short war, without too much damage to Middle East oil production facilities, could send oil prices tumbling back to \$16 per barrel or less.

Even without Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil coming back on stream there is no world oil shortage, and by the spring both general world and seasonal oil demands will be slackening.

A which damaged oil production facilities, would be much worse for bond prices by keeping oil prices high.

However, even a sharp increase in prices need not necessarily be bad in the longer term if policy remains non-accommodative. It would deepen the recession and hasten the necessary fall in British inflation to levels seen in the rest of the ERM.

What if the money war and uncertainties of the past few months continue? As we have seen in the last quarter, this need not be bad for gilts, provided other fundamentals remain favourable.

War or no war, the speed of the recent rally and the rate at which spreads over other markets have narrowed suggest the market may be due for a correction.

In trying to judge whether the gilt market's upward trend is breaking down, there are a few key levels to look out for on the long gilt future. If it falls from present levels around 90 to below 88.5, this is evidence that the expected short-term correction is under way.

Only if the market falls below 85.5 must the long-run bullish picture outlined be put on hold.

DOUG JONES  
Crown Agents Asset  
Management Limited

## Acquisitions should boost Tomkins

REPORTING THIS WEEK

## TODAY

ACQUISITION growth is expected to help Tomkins, the industrial conglomerate headed by Greg Hutchings, to make pre-tax profits of £30 million for the half-year, against £23.3 million last time, according to Matthew Sutherland at County Nat-West WoodMac.

News is awaited on the progress of Philips Industries, the American industrial company acquired for \$550 million last summer. Earnings a share are expected to advance 18 per cent to 9.1p, although no growth is expected for the full year, reflecting the rights issue to finance the Philips acquisition.

Analysts await a trading statement on the American operations, which account for about 65 per cent of earnings, as fears rise about the effects of the recession.

Ian John at County Nat-West expects Ellis & Everard,

the chemical distribution group, to lift interim pre-tax profits from £7.8 million to £9.8 million, with market forecasts rising to about £11 million. Most of the growth will come from acquisitions.

Dilution from May's rights issue and currency effects are expected to hold earnings a share to 8.65p (8.95p).

Interim: Cantors, Dalepak Foods, Ellis & Everard, Excelsior Group, Fletcher King, London Electricity, Tomkins, Yorkshire Electricity, Vandy (Rieg), Versa Ardens Investments, Aukett Associates, Burnside Investments. Economic statistics: Retail sales (December — provisional), producer price index numbers (December — provisional), CBI/FT survey of distributive trades (January), quarterly analysis of bank advances (September-November), capital issues and redemptions (December).

## TOMORROW

Jane Anscombe, at BZW, expects final pre-tax profits at Crown Communications, the broadcasting group which owns LBC, the London radio station, to drop from £6.2 million to £3.4 million, reflecting tough conditions in the radio industry as well as reduced investment profits. But the dividend should be held.

Enrotherm International, the Glasgow process control equipment group, had a reasonable first half, but margins are thought to have come under pressure in the second with orders squeezed as a result of destocking and pressure on spending.

Final pre-tax profits are expected to slip to £13.5 million, against £17.6 million, according to UBS Phillips & Drew. However, this is at the lower end of forecasts which rise to about £16 million.

Interim pre-tax profits at Howden Group, the Glasgow engineering company, are expected to dive from £7.1 million to about £3 million, according to BZW. The dividend could be trimmed.

Interim: Debenham Tewson & Chirocks Holdings, Empire Stores Group, Gold Fields of South Africa, Howden Group, Lazard Select Investment Trust, ML Holdings, Hobo Group, Norweb, Property Security Investment Trust, Thomson Corp.

Finals: Babcock Pribon, Crown Communications, Eurochem International, Hawlin, Kinick, London & Clydeside Holdings, Trillion, Whewy.

## WEDNESDAY

Trading at First Leisure Corporation, the entertainment group headed by Lord Delfont, the chairman, and John Conlan, the chief exec-

## THURSDAY

Carl Gough, at UBS Phillips & Drew, expects Mountleigh Group, the property company, to announce interim pre-tax profit upwards of £5 million, against £20.5 million. Trading at Galerías Preciados, which is Spain's second largest department store chain, is believed to have been "very satisfactory" and will provide the bulk of Mountleigh's earnings.

BZW expects Anglia Television Group to report pre-tax profits of £15 million, against £18.5 million, reflecting depressed advertising revenues and an increased Exchequer levy.

Interim: Hampson Industries, Mountleigh Group, Peel Holdings, Stanley Leisure Organisation, Symonds Engineering. Final: Anglia Television, Davenport Vernon, Giffi Group, Lookers, LPA Industries, Wigan Investment Trust. Economic statistics: Finished steel consumption and stock changes (third quarter — final), public sector borrowing requirement (December), labour market statistics, unemployment (December — provisional), average earnings index (November — provisional), provisional figures of vehicle production (December).

## FRIDAY

Interim: Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mining, Harmony Gold Mining, Sphere Investment Trust. Final: Group Development Capital Trust, St Andrew Trust, Selective Assets Trust. Economic statistics: Retail prices index (December).

PHILIP PANGALOS

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## CAPITAL MARKETS

## LIG and Saatchi face up to the premium put problem

THE convertible chickens from corporate Britain's financing boom of the late Eighties are coming home to roost. Within a few hours last Thursday, two leading companies announced significant recapitalisations to pre-empt the effects of pre-crash premium put convertible bonds due in 1992 and 1993.

Admittedly, the severity of their predicaments varied considerably. In Saatchi & Saatchi's case, the certain redemption of its Euroconvertible preference shares in 1993 would sink the company.

For London International Group, finding the £60 million it is due to pay in March next year would have been possible with existing bank facilities but would have resulted in a disastrous increase in gearing. Instead, the company is biting the bullet now, raising £61.6 million through a rights issue to soften the blow to the balance sheet.

Not surprisingly, the market was unimpressed by this argument. Quite apart from the rights issue, shareholders will suffer anyway this year from the effects of the convertible.

LIG plans to provide £2.3 million for the accrued supplementary interest on redemption and a further £5.8 million, recorded as an exceptional item, to cover supplementary interest in 1987-90. And that is before taking into account the earnings dilution effect of the new shares, issued on a one-for-four basis. Not surprisingly, the shares fell 10 per cent. It may well be 1993 before earnings per share exceed last year's level.

But LIG can reasonably expect the comfort of rising profits over the next few years. For a group such as Saatchi &

Saatchi, where the fundamentals look sickly without any help from over-eager financiers, the outlook is more bleak. The price to shareholders of buying out the put option from the holders of the two classes of convertible preference shares is a heavy one.

In effect, they are being asked to give up 70 per cent of the company to the owners of the put option in return for the removal of the threat of administration two-and-a-half years down the track.

An outcome of this kind was always likely because of the vicious downward spiral that a premium put can trigger. If the ordinary shares do not perform, perhaps for rea-

sons beyond the company's control, redemption of the bond becomes more likely. In turn, the threat of early redemption plus the higher rate of interest payable if the put option is exercised depresses the shares. In anything but a raging bull market the spiral, once started, is almost impossible to escape.

At least LIG and Saatchi, helped by Warburgs, one of the leading proponents of the premium put, have faced up to the problem. Many companies are still puzzling it out. They are learning, the hard way, that there is always a price to pay for cheap money.

JONATHAN PRYNN



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## Economy lame before the fighting starts

ANATOLE KALETSKY

On Christmas eve this column made four seasonally cheerful predictions for the year ahead: that oil prices would fall even if the Gulf tension degenerated into open warfare; that sterling would stabilise at about DM2.90; that this would prompt the government to cut interest rates and shorten the recession; and that the turmoil in the Soviet Union would have a reasonably happy conclusion. Although the year is only two weeks old, events are moving so fast that an update is already required.

The first prediction is even more plausible today than before Christmas. The second has been fulfilled already. The third is uncertain, but hints from Chevening that fiscal expansion has been foreclosed imply cuts in interest rates will be more essential than ever. The fourth prediction, about the Soviet Union, seems tragically mistaken already, though this is not necessarily true of the economic aspects of the reform process.

The weekend's military excesses, disgusting though they were, do not in themselves imply

that the Soviet Union is going back to the Stalinist system. Suppression of secessionist and anti-colonial movements is not necessarily incompatible with economic progress and even political democracy — as Britain, with its experiences in Ireland, India and Africa, knows only too well. And political repression can co-exist with market economics for years or even decades, as many episodes in history, ranging from Nazi Germany to South Africa, Korea and Chile, attest. Indeed, a viciously repressive but mercantile society is what the world is now up against in Iraq, which brings us back to the question of the moment — the economic impact of a Gulf war.

This impact will probably be quite small. The bombing of Iraq has not yet started, but the expectation of war is now so widespread that it would be quite extraordinary if the financial markets had not discounted the possibility of a brief conflict, at

least. The so-called analysts may still be predicting a jump in the oil price to \$50 or \$60 a barrel the moment the first shot is fired, but they never say who will do the buying at such absurd prices. Not, presumably, the oil company purchasing managers who are already sitting on enormous losses and unsaleable stocks after their buying frenzy last autumn. Nor, in all likelihood, the professional speculators at the New York and London futures pits, many of whom lost their shirts when the market came back to its senses last month and started comparing the surging supply of oil with dwindling demand.

Even more important than the psychological and financial pres-

sure on the oil speculators will be the decision to sell oil from government strategic stockpiles in the event of war. This long-overdue step, announced by the International Energy Agency (IEA) in Paris last Friday, should prove decisive in the defeat of Saddam Hussein.

From the beginning, Saddam's main objective in over-running Kuwait was probably to corner the world oil market. His hope was to hold the world economy to ransom by intimidating Saudi Arabia and strangling the global oil supply — a megalomaniac delusion that western governments should have scotched immediately by using their oil reserves to keep prices below \$30 a barrel. Still, better late than

never. The IEA now says that it is ready to add 2.5 million barrels a day — equivalent to 17 per cent of the Gulf's total exports before August 2 — to the oversupply already bearing down on the world market.

Not only should this be more than sufficient to offset any additional "war premium" attributable to fears that the conflict might cause serious damage to Saudi oil installations; it should also help to calm market fears about the economic consequences of even the most catastrophic military scenarios, by drawing attention to the immense size of the western oil stocks, which stand at more than a billion barrels in terms of government strategic reserves alone.

Suppose that Iraq continued its defiance, even after the destruction of its air force and strategic military capabilities. Suppose that Saudi oilfields near the scene of the conflict had to be closed

because of chemical, biological or even nuclear contamination. The allies would still have enough oil reserves to outlast Iraq quite easily in a war of attrition. Indeed, the American, Japanese and German governments alone could go on replacing Saudi oil at the rate of 2.5 million barrels a day for well over a year, even if no action was taken to curtail energy use — which, of course, there would be in the event of a long war.

It seems, then, that sharply higher oil prices are very unlikely to follow even if war drags out. Unfortunately, this does not mean that the world economy and the financial markets will be out of trouble. The Gulf crisis initially acted as a catalyst for the bear market in equities and the stagflation in Britain and America. But in the last few months, the armchair soldiering has actually helped to distract investors from the deterioration in the real economy and the financial system. The economy may be helped by lower oil prices. But stock and bond markets will probably suffer once the Gulf tension is over.

CHALLENGER battle tanks will be central to the British Land Forces in the event of war in the Gulf. Crucial though the outcome of any fighting will be to the world economy, how the Challenger performs will be crucial to a more micro-economic aspect: the placing of the order for the Army's next tank.

For Vickers, the British engineering company that makes the Challenger, whatever else a Gulf conflict will be, it will act as a final, full-scale field trial for the company's defence products. Vickers knows that if the Challenger tanks fail, the company will not be forgiven quickly. But if they succeed, the prospects for the company are good.

From the 29th-floor Thames-side offices of Sir Colin Chandler, Vickers' managing director, the Gulf seems a long way off. For Sir Colin, and Vickers, it is not. "We have to be ready for almost everything," Sir Colin says. "We try to think things through."

Though defence accounts for only 18 per cent of total sales, it is a crucial measure of Vickers' overall standing. Since the day Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, senior Vickers managers have been planning what to do in the event of war.

Immediately after the invasion, Gerald Boxall, chairman and chief executive of Vickers Defence Systems, wrote to the defence ministry, setting out in detail modifications the Challenger tanks would need to operate at their best if it came to war in the desert. The MoD, with which Vickers, like all British defence companies, has a close relationship, was pleased to see such an initiative being taken.

Since September, the company has had a team of 16 in the Gulf, carefully tending the 140-plus Challengers and four Challenger recovery vehicles stationed there. A replacement team is about to fly out. Back in Britain, workers have hardly been idle at Vickers'

## Vickers in line to reap the war dividend



Confidence high over contract: Sir Colin Chandler

two tank factories in Leeds and Newcastle, readying spares and other equipment for the Gulf. Over the Christmas and New Year break, for instance, Vickers' designers produced 300 detailed engineering drawings required by the MoD for vital and secret equipment modifications that needed to be completed before tomorrow's United Nations deadline. Challenger I is thought to be

performing well in the Gulf deserts, with a 90 per cent availability for work despite the conditions.

Manoeuvres in the Middle East also give the opportunity to measure the Challenger's range and fuel consumption against the American Abrams tanks, made by General Dynamics, with which Vickers is competing for the new British tank order.

Vickers is widely believed

to have all but finally secured the delayed contract. All Sir Colin Chandler will say is "Our confidence is still high."

Though Vickers would have liked the order signed and sealed before now, Sir Colin acknowledges that the competition has been good for the company.

Defence makes up only about 10 per cent of Vickers' overall profits — analysts suggest its trading profit for this year, ending in March, will be £81 million. Nevertheless defence helps generate further sales of other Vickers' products and is what Sir Colin calls a "wild card", pushing revenue back into the company which can be used in other parts of the business.

Vickers is in good stead to weather the recession: cash-rich, with perhaps £100 million in net cash at the end of 1990, and a comfortable gearing level of about 30 per cent. Rolls-Royce Motors, its luxury car maker, looks likely to buck the general economic downturn — Rolls-Royce sales rose last year at a time of chronically bad performance in the luxury car market.

Even now that the order for the new tank will be for fewer vehicles than originally envisaged — though the uncertainty surrounding the Gulf might change that again, if Challenger I performs well — Vickers could expect to obtain further orders for Challenger II if Britain buys it, probably from Middle East countries such as Saudi Arabia keen to build up their defences after any fighting.

While Sir Colin still feels Saddam Hussein may at the eleventh hour make a move that will discompose the Allied forces, he believes that if there is to be a war it will be relatively short.

For the company a lot would be riding on the outcome of a war: for those fighting it, a lot would be riding on Vickers.

PHILIP BASSETT  
Industrial Editor

## Greycoat foresight pays off

THE perceived wisdom is that the property sector is the last place investors should risk their funds. The same wisdom has it that only the two sector leaders, Land Securities and MEPC, are worth considering in that they offer the most transparent way of hedging against the recovery in property values that must come. Right, but only up to a point.

This year, as last, the sector will be littered with corporate casualties — property companies whose gambles have not paid off. But there will be some winners. Not companies whose shares simply track a general recovery in property values but those whose shares out-perform that recovery.

One such company is Greycoat. Already Britain's

eighth largest property company, Greycoat is likely to rise still higher up property's first division as the company and its shareholders finally start to collect and reinvest the win-

nings of a bet laid more than five years ago by a management team whose experience goes back many years.

The terms of that bet were simple. Greycoat took the view that the properties it developed would be better than those built by its rivals and should therefore be kept rather than sold. So while other developers arranged their finance to maximise the profit made on selling a completed building, Greycoat, with the not inconsiderable help of Salomon Bros International, arranged its borrowings to allow it to keep and benefit from a full interest in its landmark developments.

Hence the unconventional array of zero coupon bonds, stepped coupon bonds and other financial instruments that make up Greycoat's total debts of more than £500

million. What the stock market has yet to realise is that Greycoat, unlike many of its rivals and despite the harsh economic environment, can cover those debts and, in doing so, has already won its bet.

All three of the London office developments on which Greycoat's future is secured are let: Embankment Place to Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte; Lutens House to BP; and 123 Buckingham Palace Road to the trade department and PA Management Consultants.

When rents from all three are running later this year Greycoat will be in the happy position of collecting rents (including its share of associates) at the rate of more than £60 million a year. True, some rents will start to flow too late for the current year to end March, but flow they certainly

will soon after and at a rate that amply covers the company's total interest bill. By next year the comfort margin will have risen higher as the rent roll approaches £75 million.

The March year-end will mark the end of a chapter at Greycoat. Its developments to date will be complete and let. That means the current year will be the last occasion when the company capitalises huge amounts of interest. Shareholders' funds may be temporarily hit by the slide in property values, even for Greycoat's trophy buildings, but gearing should stay under control at between 80 to 90 per cent of shareholders' funds.

Greycoat has reached a watershed in its corporate development. As a property company its shares, at 343p, may be slow to reflect that. But among the leading property stocks, Greycoat is the one that should reward sooner rather than later.

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Date: Jan. 15-17, 1991

Time: 9:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

Place: The Grand Ballroom  
Hotel Inter-Continental  
1 Hamilton Place, Hyde Park Corner

## THE TIMES CITY DIARY

### No cash, less flash

BRACES are out of fashion, and that is official. So says Nicholas Wheeler, aged 25, a former Bain & Co management consultant who left in July last year, together with colleague Peter Higgins, aged 28, to form a formal shirt manufacturing and distribution business, Charles Tyrwhitt. "It's the anti-Gordon Gekko image of the Nineties," he says. He also observes that now times are harder in broking and merchant banking, and that accountants are, as ever, "incredibly stingy", it is only the corporate lawyers who are still "in the money" and eager to spend upwards of £34 for a shirt, sometimes buying 15 or more at a time. With Ashurst Morris Crisp his best legal customer in the Square Mile, Higgins says, "Lawyers are without doubt the smartest dressers in the City. They are very conservative but they love good suits and good quality shirts. If they find a shirt they like they will buy a dozen or more at a time." True to form, accountants "don't like spending more than £6 on a shirt, it's like getting blood out of a stone," with the possible exception of some of the more senior partners at Arthur Andersen. "But even then they are very pampered and won't buy anything without consulting their wives first."

refuse to venture beyond plain cottons or thin stripes. Hambros and Bankers Trust buy more shirts than anyone else, although Cazenove and Warburg are, as one might expect, the most knowledgeable when it comes to discussing plackets, twin needle stitching and split yokes.

**TIMELY** notice spotted by a reader outside a shimmering centre in Yeovil, Somerset: "Which is the lesser of two evils: Food going to waste... or to waste?"

**Closed to calls**

STOCK market reporter Roger Kidd's redundancy from Eitel, the City's electronic news service, seems to have shocked the Square Mile. So much so that stockbrokers from all walks of life have been moved to pass comment... and to reminisce. Lord Buchan, a director and one time partner of Quilter Goodison, tells me that Henry

Pawle, the firm where Kidd started work at 14, eventually became part of Quilter. "One of the charming old gentlemen who used to work there, and who would have known Roger, was Sir Hardman Earle," says Buchan, aged 60 and Quilter's self-appointed historian. "He had a top hat, a military moustache and a monocle. He also had an old fashioned roltop desk and whenever he went out of the office he would lock the telephone inside the desk, so that no one else could answer it. At lunch times it would ring and there was nothing anybody could do. It used to drive everyone mad."

Buchan, who prefers to be known as plain Malcolm Buchan, is not that dissimilar to the aforementioned baronet, when it comes to being a colourful character. In his spare time he is deputy chairman and "the money man" for Battersea Dogs' Home. "Even for a hardened old City man, a tour around the dogs' home is enough to break your heart," he says, adding that he has two dogs, one of which came from Battersea.

**Press gang**

SEVERAL of the older male journalists thought that it was Christmas all over again at the launch of the publicity programme for the two electricity generators. They perked up noticeably when 24 girls arrived unannounced. Seven made it into the packed

into London Wall. The girls were 18- and 19-year-old student journalists from the London College of Printing, Watford, who had been set the task of infiltrating a press conference as part of their training. They obviously fulfilled it with some degree of success.

**Sharing pay cut**

THE 150 employees of Brown Shipley Stockbroking, a firm better known by its old name Hecelstine Moss, will, from April 1, accept a cut in their basic salaries, so as to reduce the fixed cost base of the company. This blow has been softened by a profit sharing plan which, according to Bill Stutford, the new chairman, should ensure that the firm is more profitable than ever and that overall incomes do not drop. "In terms of incentivising our staff it is very similar to the management buyout at Hoare Govett, except that it remains a wholly owned subsidiary of Brown Shipley Holdings," says Stutford, aged 62, chairman of Framlington until its takeover by Throgmorton Trust, and a director of Brown Shipley Holdings since last February. "It will operate more like a partnership and for a company of our size it will be much better not to have the wild fluctuations in earnings that stock broking businesses are prone to." Martin Ingram, until now chairman and managing director of Brown Shipley Stock-





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## Portfolio PLATINUM

© Times Newspapers Limited  
**DAILY DIVIDEND**

**Claims required for +51 points**

**Claimants should ring 0254-53272**

Prices are Friday's middle prices. Change, dividend, yield and P/E ratios are calculated on middle prices. (aa) denotes Alpha Stocks

Company	Price 100 shares	Chgs per share	Open of Mkt	High of Mkt	Low of Mkt	P/E
8,891,000 Pitcon	31	+	1.8	5.8	7.0	
282.45 Premier	82	+				36.3
80.00 Pricer	200	+				
21,474.00 Ranch	209	+	1.1			
14,749.00 Shell Int	444	+	25.6	5.7	13.8	
301.10 Simon Pac Ry	169	+				
1,000.00 Tilden Supers	319	+				
1,173.75 Tilden Supers	319	+	12.7	4.9	18.0	
1,173.75 Woodside	115	+				

### OVERSEAS TRADERS

85.30 Antelope	285	+	17.0	8.5	4.7	
17.00 Boscawen	28	+	2.1	8.1	8.4	
2,342.00 Anglo Group	58	+	1.4	50.0	8.0	
62.50 Brierley (Japan)	245	+	5.5	6.6	7.1	
1,000.00 Brierley (Japan)	245	+	5.5	6.6	7.1	
1,328.80 Lortco Int	207	+	4.4	8.7	11.4	
71.20 M&N	310	+	1.2	12.8	4.1	18.2
1,145.00 Sun Dairy	71	+				

### PAPER, PRINT, ADVERTISING

16.40 API	78	+	8.2	11.5	13.0	
35.00 Ashby Mead	109	+	10.2	8.4	8.4	
2,342.00 Anglo Group	58	+	1.4	50.0	8.0	
7,051.00 Addison Cos	10 1/2	+	7.0	6.5	7.4	
18.00 Anglo News	78	+	5.5	7.2	8.7	
1,762.00 Boscawen	28	+	2.1	8.1	8.4	
1,000.00 Brierley (Japan)	245	+	5.5	6.6	7.1	
1,000.00 CIA Co. (Japan)	31	+	7.0	1.5	8.0	
3,360.00 Daily Publishing	40	+	1.9	8.8	8.1	
60.00 Ferguson Int	188	+	18.0	9.9	8.3	
1,717.00 Gann Co	21	+	11.9	13.9	2.0	
3,360.00 Gann Co	40	+	1.9	8.8	8.1	
1,000.00 Goodrich	61	+	2.7	12.2	5.0	
2,541.00 Hemisphere	70	+	11.9	13.9	2.0	
12.00 Lopus	81	+	8.0	18.0	2.9	
1,000.00 M&N	310	+	1.2	12.8	4.1	
43.70 More O'Connell	77 1/2	+	7.0	10.5	4.6	
1,000.00 News Hops	87	+	10.0	10.0	10.0	
11.00 Quartz	102	+	5.5	7.5	8.0	
167.50 St Hess Co	182	+	8.7	8.5	10.0	
1,000.00 Sun Dairy	71	+	1.4	11.5	4.1	
41.00 Standaards	50	+	2.4	8.2	3.2	
1,000.00 Sun Dairy	71	+	1.4	11.5	4.1	
108.30 Sun Int'l	445	+	15			
4,984.00 Sun Int'l	290	+	14.3	8.4	8.7	
3,057.00 VPI Co	71	+	21.8	8.8	1.5	
1,000.00 Wagon	31	+	10.7	8.1	10.0	
1,000.00 Wagon	31	+	10.7	8.1	10.0	
80.10 Wagon	310	+	13.7	4.4	10.5	
1,000.00 Wagon	310	+	13.7	4.4	10.5	
225.00 Western Times Advertiser	46	+	11.1	5.0		

### PROPERTY

60.50 Allied Lon	87	+	4.7	5.4	57.2	
7,051.00 Anglo Group	58	+	1.4	50.0	8.0	

12.1m	BBH Group	33	-2	2.7	8.2	8.6
6,372,000	Baker Harris	60	..	2.7	5.4	13.9
158.7m	Eliton (P)	308	-23	22.2	8.0	19.0
6,846,000	Bourne End	80	-5	4.0	5.0	9.0

20.8m	Bredeno	263	3.2	4.3	5.1
929.8m	Rt Land (and)	85	6-8	13.8	18.7
65.5m	Wendy	104	6	8	8
43.8m	Bard	37	1.0	27	29.4
435.5m	Cap & Counties	330	-5	17.0	5.2 14.6
5,266.0m	Charl Prop	325	3.1	1.0	65.5
65.5m	Cherry	615	10	24.1	24.1
19.9m	Christie	27	-	-	12.9
7,652.0m	Charles Nichols	27	6.7	1.9	4.5
65.5m	Chen	7	7	7	7
65.5m	Contra	27	6.7	1.9	4.5
7,635.0m	Cusins	710	-3	12.3	11.2 4.2
117.7m	Duggan	125	-5	39.7	4.2 9.6
65.5m	Estates	6	1.0	1.0	1.0
25.1m	Deborahm Tawson	35	-3	10.3	12.1 4.5
2,126.0m	De Morgan	12	-	1.8	15.0 7.8

22.0%	Delcora	180	-8	7.3	6.8	5.1
60.0%	Denwest Hldgs	845	..	10.3	1.6	23.9
3,948,000	Egerton Trust	9	-8	..	..	0.4
16.5%	Estotee & Agency	275	..	8.3	3.0	48.5
20.7%	Estotee Gen	97	+2	5.0	5.2	..
61.5%	Evans Oil Leases	35	-8	4.5	4.9	13.7
14.5%	Fire Oils	81	-1	1.3	4.2	..
4,303,000	Fletcher Indg	50	..	12.0	24.0	3.2
115.6%	Flomcora	289	-13	16.4	6.7	49.3

467.5m	Gr Portland	308	-6	12.5	8.0	17.1
296.1m	Greywacke	303	-11	8.9	2.0	15.2
12.8m	HK Land	58	..	..	..	..
12.8m	Hardwood Gp	224	..	..	..	..
147.5m	Hamber Countryrd	45	-1	8.1	0.2	..
218.4m	Hammerton	808	-48	28.0	4.3	20.7
784.5m	Do 'A' (and	587	-48	28.0	4.4	19.8
4,484.000	Handover Druce	78	..	..	..	..
13.5m	Handover	120	-15	22.5	12.5	8.8

15.3m	Harbour	180	-15	22.6	12.5	8.8
21.8m	Helical Bar	133	-12	13.9	10.0	3.9
18.3m	Herring Son	165	..	8.3	5.4	7.8
5,000,000	Jarmyn	250	..	4.0	1.8	4.9
2,822.1m	Land Sec Inc	520	-2	28.7	4.8	21.4

12.3%	Low Securities	16	-2	22	12.5	7.5
1,695.0%	MEPO (en)	462	•	26.3	5.1	16.3
8,836.0%	McCarthy	130	•	7.7	8.9	12.4
30.5%	McDonald	20	•	1.0	1.0	1.0
36.8%	Marathon	30	+1	8.0	26.7	3.1
23.3%	Marshall Moore	203	-10	14.0	4.7	5.3
1,400.0%	Martell	21	•	2.0	2.0	2.0
2,000.0%	Martell Estates	31	-2	5.0	18.1	2.1
157.0%	Mattress	7	•	8.3	8.4	8.4
37.0%	Maurice	825	-7	18.0	2.6	2.5
1.0%	Max (AAJ)	116	18	6.6	6.6	17.0
5,740.0%	New Cavendish	41	•	•	•	•
18.5%	Mayday Est	84	•	1.1	12.9	5.9
5,000.0%	Mayday Shop	1	•	•	•	•
116.5%	Power Corp	100	-13	•	•	•
4,572.0%	Pratt Motors	31	•	•	•	•

119,746 Prop. Security	119	-5	6.00	4.2	20.0
4,840,000 Region	22	-1	..	..	..
81.4m Region	70	-1	5.3	7.6	8.4
— Rockford	..	..	2.51	..	..
81.5m Rosebush	85	-9	..	..	..

14,1m	Swale	40	-8	12	12	6,5
125,5m	Soot Mct	129	..	8,0	7,0	17,5
125,5m	Sturtevant	105	..	..	..	..
7,227,000	Shawnee Sacs	14	..	2,7	..	..
1,544,000	Sheld	10	..	..	..	..
2,740,000	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	4,0	16,4	3,0
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
85,1m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
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10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
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10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85	..	5,5	14,5	3,5
10,5m	Shenhar Goldenhnt	85				

181.5m Water	140	-8	4.5	3.0	37.8
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**SHOES LEATHER**

3,592,000	Headman	37	-5	3.2	8.5	5.9
10,441	Lambert Howards	195	+9	14.1	7.8	10.6
13,296	Pinkert Gumar	64	+3	1.0	5.5	5.5
79,636	Style & Fisher	18	-8	3.7	16.9	16.9
63,316	Song	276	-8	12.0	4.3	37.7

TEXTILES						
4,590,000	Aitch	27	++	1.6	8.8	8.8
50,606	Aitch Text	257	+	16.6	4.3	10.6
7,457,000	Badman (A)	61	+	6.4	10.5	7.7
4,782,000	Botton Co	52	-1	...	...	...

11.4M	BY Ridge	95	-6	11.3	13.1	4.1
83.8M	CFT Gp	75	-6	10.7	4.6	..
235.5M	Courtside Textiles	287	-1	12.0	8.3	6.1
221.5M	Dawson	144	●+1	1.0	7.3	11.2
2,550,000	Drummond	22	●-7			

[illegible]

## TOBACCOS

2,110.2m	BAT (m)	500	..	41.26	7.10	1.01
	Flowers	50	..	20.5	2.0	10.4
<b>TRANSPORT</b>						
354.7m	Amson Br Ports	189	..	9.0	4.6	8.8
1,911.2m	BAA (m)	381	..	78.3	4.3	10.2
1,024.8m	Br Airways (m)	149	..	11.8	8.3	4.8
81.5m	Br Airways	75	..	10.3	7.0	6.0
81.5m	Clarkson (F)	148	..	10.3	7.0	6.0
45,000	Devex & Newsum	136	..	..	..	..
5,232.1m	European Units	274	..	..	..	..
45.1m	International Waters	20	-1	..	..	..

Company	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	2101	2102	2103	2104	2105	2106	2107	2108	2109	2110	2111	2112	2113	2114	2115	2116	2117	2118	2119	2120	2121	2122	2123	2124	2125	2126	2127	2128	2129	2130	2131	2132	2133	2134	2135	2136	2137	2138	2139	2140	2141	2142	2143	2144	2145	2146	2147	2148	2149	2150	2151	2152	2153	2154	2155	2156	2157	2158	2159	2160	2161	2162	2163	2164	2165	2166	2167	2168	2169	2170	2171	2172	2173	2174	2175	2176	2177	2178	2179	2180	2181	2182	2183	2184	2185	2186	2187	2188	2189	2190	2191	2192	2193	2194	2195	2196	2197	2198	2199	2200	2201	2202	2203	2204	2205	2206	2207	2208	2209	2210	2211	2212	2213	2214	2215	2216	2217	2218	2219	2220	2221	2222	2223	2224	2225	2226	2227	2228	2229	2230	2231	2232	2233	2234	2235	2236	2237	2238	2239	2240	2241	2242	2243	2244	2245	2246	2247	2248	2249	2250	2251	2252	2253	2254	2255	2256	2257	2258	2259	2260	2261	2262	2263	2264	2265	2266	2267	2268	2269	2270	2271	2272	2273	2274	2275	2276	2277	2278	2279	2280	2281	2282	2283	2284	2285	2286	2287	2288	2289	2290	2291	2292	2293	2294	2295	2296	2297	2298	2299	2300	2301	2302	2303	2304	2305	2306	2307	2308	2309	2310	2311	2312	2313	2314	2315	2316	2317	2318	2319	2320	2321	2322	2323	2324	2325	2326	2327	2328	2329	2330	2331	2332	2333	2334	2335	2336	2337	2338	2339	2340	2341	2342	2343	2344	2345	2346	2347	2348	2349	2350	2351	2352	2353	2354	2355	2356	2357	2358	2359	2360	2361	2362	2363	2364	2365	2366	2367	2368	2369	2370	2371	2372	2373	2374	2375	2376	2377	2378	2379	2380	2381	2382	2383	2384	2385	2386	2387	2388	2389	2390	2391	2392	2393	2394	2395	2396	2397	2398	2399	2400	2401	2402	2403	2404	2405	2406</
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164.4M	Marvey Docks	174	+5	8.0	8.4	23.7
164.3M	NFC	121	-2	7.5	8.2	18.8
379.1M	Ocean Group	310	+4	18.6	6.0	12.7
12.2M	Ocean Wilson	61	-3	3.7	11.9	1.7
21.1M	P & O Irish	68	-13	6.7	6.0	8.8
63.6M	P & O 5.5%	31	-1	7.3	6.0	...
181.2M	Powell Duffryn	291	-8	30.1	10.7	8.4
45.2M	TIP Europe	40	-3	7.1	14.5	3.6
58.0M	Trabac & Britten	285	-1	10.7	8.4	14.7
337.5M	Typhook	305	-13	18.3	3.6	7.7
316.5M	Transport Data	217	+1	12.7	8.9	12.4
\$49.0M	Turnbull Ship	98	-10	...	...	2.5

WATER					
205 Zn Applied Water	270	+5	20.4	7.8	8.9

180.7m	North Water	278	-47	21.4	7.9	5.0
180.0m	North Water	287	-44	21.0	7.9	5.0
182.5m	Sewer Trail	245	+1	19.0	8.1	4.2
387.2m	Storm Water	243	-6	20.0	8.2	5.2
393.0m	South Water	209	-1	23.2	8.8	4.3
374.5m	Thames Water	254	-8	21.4	8.1	5.2
412.5m	Wish Water	230	+10	22.4	7.8	4.8
219.2m	Woburn Water	295	+2	20.3	7.8	5.1
547.2m	Yorkshire Water	278	+9	20.6	7.4	5.0
	Package Unit	22633	+222	...	...	...



# Competition powers energy-saving effort

The government is increasing spending to persuade people to save energy, writes David Rudnick

The government's campaign to improve energy efficiency advanced on several fronts last year. Perhaps moved by criticism from opponents that it had not done enough, the government increased its annual budget for promoting energy efficiency from £15 million to £26 million. The energy department, continuing to play a role mainly of encouraging people to economise, launched its first green campaign, a £400,000 advertising promotion emphasising that energy efficiency benefits the environment as much as the consumer.

The move represents a departure from the previous assumption that people can be left to save energy because they realise it is in their own interests.

John Wakeham, the energy secretary, and his ministerial colleagues gave pep talks throughout the year aimed at convincing industrialists and consumers that they needed to do more.

In March, Peter Morrison, the



Market power: John Wakeham, the energy secretary, believes privatisation will boost competition, forcing producers to increase their efficiency and offer cheaper energy

energy minister, told the food and drink industry that it could save £150 million a year. He said: "The annual cost of energy used by the industry is nearly £800 million, about 10 per cent of that used by UK industry as a whole, and at least 20 per cent of that energy could be saved. Energy efficiency must become second nature if we

are to meet the challenge of 1992."

Mr Morrison then told the nation's hoteliers: "Every year £350 million is spent on energy in the hotel sector, of which an estimated 35 per cent could be saved through low-cost, good housekeeping measures."

In July, Mr Wakeham reaffirmed the government's belief

in the market as an effective means of channelling resources into energy efficient housing. He welcomed a poll indicating that 60 per cent of Britain's house-buyers place a high priority on energy efficiency. He was sure that "the logic of the housing market is pointing in the same direction as our environmental needs, with

high energy savings adding to the attractiveness of a house".

Road shows have been organised to promote the commercial case for the energy-saving technology of combined heat and power in electricity generation. Mr Wakeham says the prospects of combined heat and power are enhanced by electricity privatisation.

He believes the increased competition engendered will ensure more efficient energy use. The new Electricity Act helps by containing special provisions to encourage combined heat and power.

In October, a ministerial group on energy efficiency was established, chaired by Mr Wakeham.

The group's task is to improve energy efficiency by bringing together government departments, and working with local authorities and organisations representing all users in the economy. The group aims to find ways for government departments to promote better energy management by local authorities, industry and the public.

Strong criticism of the shortcomings in government policy are being voiced by the environmental lobby. Last month, Andrew Warren, the director of the Association for the Conservation of Energy, issued a headline-catching appeal for new measures to reverse the 28 per cent fall in spending on energy conservation during the past two years.

Mr Warren called for new grants and incentives to encourage investment. He also wants VAT lifted from energy-saving equipment, and products to be labelled to show energy and environmental performance.

On energy efficiency labelling, the energy department is seeking agreement on a scheme covering labelling and minimum standards for electrical appliances throughout the European Community.

The Home Energy Efficiency Scheme, which started on January 1, provides grants to low-income households to install insulation.

## British Gas knows a dramatic way to reduce energy costs.

### How to cut bills by half a billion

Consumers can economise with help from the Energy Efficiency Office

The Energy Efficiency Office (EEO), which was launched in 1983, advises consumers big and small from its niche within the energy department on how to get better value for money and to be more environment-friendly in using energy.

The EEO publishes a free journal, *Energy Management*, every two months, each issue listing addresses and telephone numbers of regional energy efficiency offices (David Rudnick writes). The EEO also issues a series of home energy fact files, advising how to insulate solid and cavity walls, lofts, pipes and tanks, how to draught-proof and double glaze and how to get the best results from boiler and heating controls.

The EEO budget has recently been increased. From £15 million in the past financial year (1989-90), the budget has risen to £26 million for the current year (1990-91) and is likely to increase further. For 1991-92 £41 million has been allocated, for 1992-93 £47 million and for 1993-94 £48 million. To some extent, the budget rises are a response to criticism of the government by the Commons Select Committee on Energy last year that insufficient resources were being applied to energy saving measures. The EEO is sensitive to the charge that Britain, compared with its European competitors, spends a small amount of money on energy efficiency.

The energy secretary, John Wakeham, said recently that over the past decade British energy consumption changed very little, while gross domestic product rose by 25 per cent. Mr Wakeham said: "Between 1982 and 1986 [the latest period for which EC figures are available] our rate of improvement was twice the community average." The EEO added that since it started in 1983, its programmes had created savings of £500 million a year.

The office is either running or preparing several programmes, aimed basically at heightening public awareness

of energy efficiency. The "best practice" programme, initiated by Cecil Parkinson, the former energy secretary, in March, 1989, aims to disseminate information on the best practice for energy use "throughout the economy". Businesses are invited to let the EEO know how they maximise energy efficiency on their premises, from pubs to prime industrial sites.

An EEO official says: "We are seeking innovative ideas which can be held up as examples to everyone. We show, for example, one bakery how they are going wrong, by letting them see how another bakery is operating. It is a major collaborative programme, directed at decision-makers in industry, commerce, housing and the public sector."

The EEO is also promoting the technology of combined heat and power as a fuel-efficient technology to generate electricity and use heat that would otherwise be wasted.

Another key project is the home energy efficiency scheme, which started this year. Grants are to be made available to low-income households to help them install domestic insulation, ranging from draught-proofing to lagging of lofts and water pipes. In its first full financial year (1991-92), the scheme will account for as much as £26 million of the total £41 million EEO budget.

The EEO also presides over a programme designed to make the government practise what it preaches. The object is to improve energy efficiency "within the government estate", in buildings all over the country, which are owned or occupied by government departments. The programme aims to cut £45 million a year, or 15 per cent, off the government's energy bill over the next five years. The EEO is setting the pace with its low-energy light bulbs.

Copies of EEO publications are available from the Department of Energy, 1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE.

### Gulf dispute pushes EC campaign forward

WORRIED by the troubles in the Gulf, the European Commission has accelerated the launch of its energy-saving campaign, Save (Specific Actions for Vigorous Energy Efficiency).

The initial five-year programme aims to cut energy consumption in the European Community by 12 per cent, equivalent to 100 million tons of oil, during the next 20 years (David Rudnick writes).

The £24 million Save programme, drawn up early in 1990, is designed to impose more exacting energy efficiency requirements in technical standards. The plan calls for improved production standards for appliances such as boilers, refrigerators and kettles, for improved insulation measures in buildings and for more fuel-efficient cars.

Senhor Antonio Cardoso e Cunha, the EC energy commissioner, unveiling Save in October, said the programme also aims to cut emissions of carbon dioxide, the chief agent of the "green-

house effect". The target is a 15 per cent cut by 1995.

The commission's policy document stresses the environmental, as well as the economic, importance of energy efficiency. However, protection of the environment, in the commission's words, is a "secondary concern".

Although Europe's annual energy consumption per head, at just over the equivalent of three tons of oil, is less than half that of the United States (eight tons), the commission acknowledges that more savings can be made — between 20 and 50 per cent on some domestic electrical appliances if existing stock is replaced by the most energy-efficient products available.

By reducing industrial costs, the commission hopes to see an increase in the EC's international competitiveness. By organising the energy-efficiency drive on EC rather than national lines, the commission aims to avoid the adoption of contradictory or inadequate standards.

## Combined Heat and Power.

Today's technology makes it possible for you to generate the heat and power your company needs — on your own premises. The system is called Combined Heat and Power.

Here, high-performance turbines or reciprocating engines fuelled by natural gas, generate electricity, while 'waste' heat is harnessed to provide process heating, space heating and hot water. A remarkably efficient system that delivers dramatic all-round savings in energy costs. And not only is Combined Heat and Power efficient, it's environmentally responsible too.

To discover more of the advantages of a CHP system, contact our Technical Consultancy Service. It won't cost you a penny, and could soon place power quite literally in your grasp.

For Mr J.G. Whitmore, Room 727, British Gas plc, 326 High Holborn, London WC1V 7TP.

Please send me a copy of your Combined Heat and Power brochure.

Please arrange for me to be contacted by your Technical Consultancy Service.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Position \_\_\_\_\_

Company \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Tel \_\_\_\_\_

**British Gas**



# More than a load of old rubbish

Power producers are cleaning up their act and making good profits for themselves and customers as they go green, Malcolm Brown writes



Waste not, want not: domestic rubbish can produce power

Power producers wear two hats now. They want to maximise profit, so they need to sell as much of their fuel as possible, but they also need to be seen as "good corporate citizens". They do that by being environmentally conscious, by producing their products more cost-effectively and, increasingly, by advising customers of the most efficient ways to use their fuels.

● **Coal:** One of the most innovative schemes being explored by British Coal is pithead electricity generation. In the wake of electricity privatisation, British Coal has been looking at the possibility of independent coal-fired power stations on sites near collieries. The first one is likely to be at Bilthorpe colliery, in Nottinghamshire, a joint venture with East Midlands Electricity under which a small, 150-megawatt power station would be built.

The station would employ a form of clean technology called circulating fluidised bed combustion (CFBC), which British Coal says has advantages over the traditional pulverised fuel method. One advantage is that 90 per cent of the sulphur in coal can be captured during combustion without the need for a flue gas desulphurisation plant.

The station would burn about 700,000 tons of coal a year, about a third of Bilthorpe's output. The coal would be used as mined, without any special preparation.

British Coal is cautious about when Bilthorpe is able to start production. It already has planning permission and has chosen con-

tractors but, because of the competitive prices being offered by the electricity and gas producers, has been unable so far to prepare a financial package for the scheme. Miners at the colliery are expected to be allowed to take a stake in the power station company.

Developments such as the Bilthorpe project are linked to research on the British Coal topping cycle, which the company claims should be 20 per cent more efficient than existing systems and should produce much less carbon dioxide.

John Furphy, British Coal's commercial manager for industrial sales, says: "We have a number of other proposals for pithead electricity generation on a joint venture basis, although with Bilthorpe being seen as the forerunner for clean-coal power stations, it is unlikely these will be

brought forward until the fate of Bilthorpe is known."

● **Gas:** British Gas is putting a lot of money into trying to interest industry and institutions in gas-based combined heat and power systems, which generate electricity and heat from natural gas. The idea is not new, but has only taken off in recent years.

Companies have always tended to buy one lot of fuel for heating and another, electricity, for lighting and to power machines. In gas-based combined heat and power, high-performance turbines, engines fuelled by gas, generate electricity while the "waste" heat is captured, rechannelled and used to heat buildings and water.

The simplest form of a small-scale unit using the technique might consist of a spark ignition engine

coupled with an alternator and connected to a system that can recover heat from the engine's exhaust gases and use it to heat and circulate water around a building.

Combined heat and power systems are undoubtedly efficient. Plants using the technique are believed to convert a higher proportion, about 80 per cent, of fuel input into usable energy than conventional systems.

Combined heat and power can produce big savings. A small unit at the 200-bedroom Post House Hotel in Manchester, for example, provides much of the electricity for the hotel and abundant hot water at 80°C, which is fed directly into the heating system.

At the other end of the spectrum is Liverpool university, the first leading educational establishment to use a large combined heat and power plant. The university calculates that it is saving more than £2,000 a day when the system is in use.

The university had an energy bill of £2 million a year. A study showed that the most cost-effective solution would be for the university to generate its own electricity, so it set up the University of Liverpool Energy Company to install a gas-fired, turbine-driven alternator and run the system. Waste heat from the turbine heats water, which provides heat and hot water throughout the

campus. Experts calculate that the system will pay for itself within five years.

● **Electricity:** National Power, one of the two big electricity providers, is carrying out a study for a scheme that would combine energy efficiency with environmental concern. It wants to burn about 10 per cent of Britain's domestic and commercial waste to produce electricity. This country produces about 30 million tons of rubbish a year, most of it dumped in 3,500 landfill sites. National Power believes that the rubbish, instead of being dumped, could be used instead as an energy source.

The company says its waste management business would receive about 60 per cent of its income from disposal fees paid to it by local councils, and the rest from the electricity it sells.

Initial plans are for two types of burning operations. "Mass burn" would involve building special waste-to-energy power stations, probably using American technology. The second scheme, "co-firing", would involve converting waste to a form suitable for burning with coal in existing power stations.

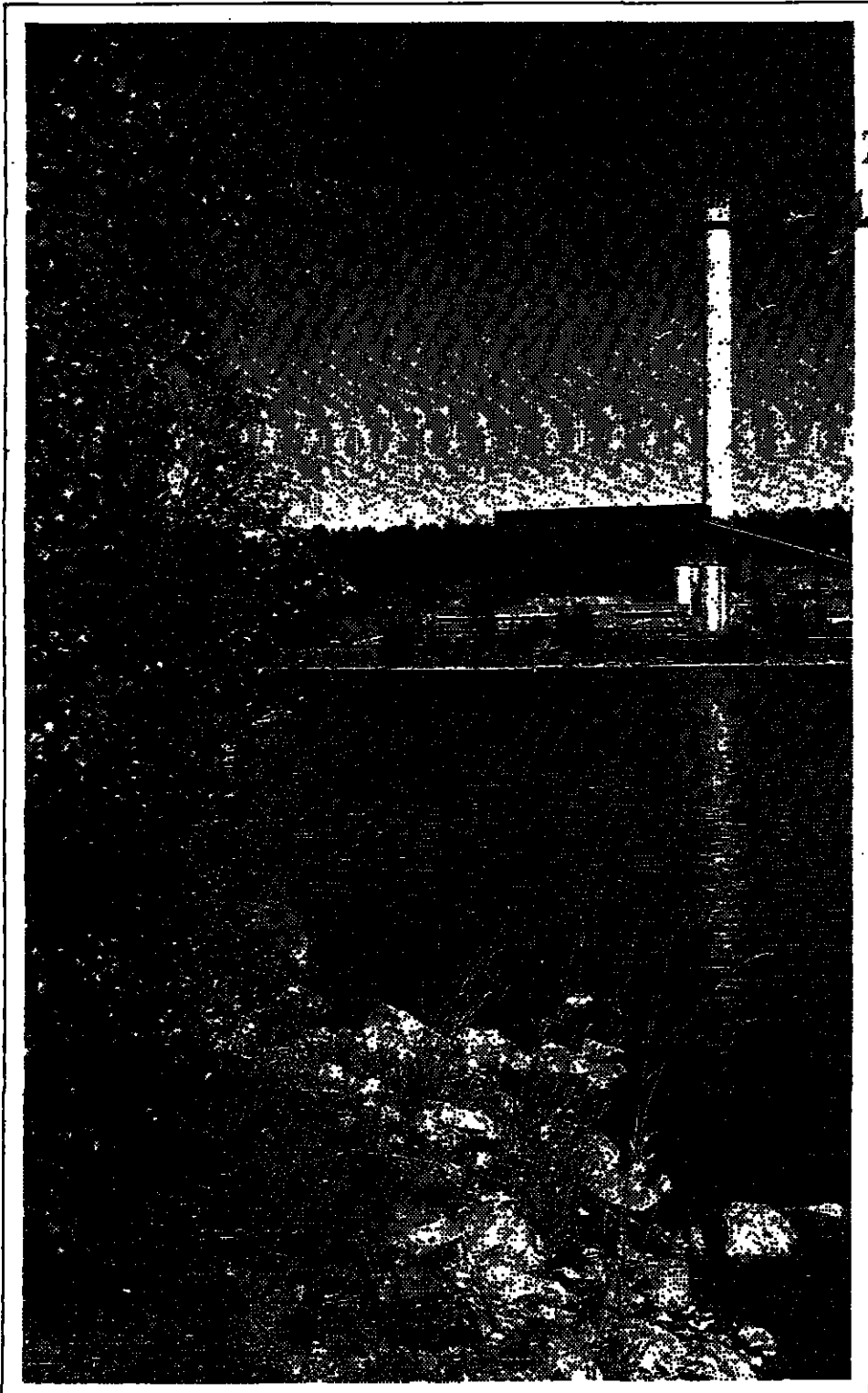
● **Oil:** Several of the big oil companies help clients to devise ways of cutting their energy bills. The oil companies realise they need in-house energy efficiency because oil-refining is energy-intensive.

The heat from a high-temperature process can be recaptured and used again for a second, lower-temperature, process. Refineries are also using waste steam.



Pollution: cleaning up and recycling can save money for producers

## LET'S CLEAR THE AIR ABOUT COAL.



Smoke from the power station, Sander A. British Coal Customer

### Sub-contracting to save money

Companies are turning to specialists to help them consume less energy

RALPH COHEN, the managing director of Associated Heat Services (AHS), had to decide recently what should happen to the company's data-processing operations, which had grown as the company expanded. He decided to subcontract the work to a specialist (Malcolm Brown writes).

That is precisely the kind of decision his clients are making about AHS, although this time the job being farmed out is energy management, rather than computing. AHS is one of the leading companies in contract energy management, a small and, to the public, largely invisible industry.

Energy management is the application of management techniques to achieve energy efficiency. Most industries are rather bad at it. Companies may spend hundreds of thousands of pounds installing better production machinery, but will give scarcely a second thought to how efficiently they are using the energy that drives their machines and lights and heats their factories.

The contract companies, several of which are spin-offs from power providers such as the oil companies, identified that gap and moved in to exploit it. The product they sell is the promise of a lower energy bill.

"We know exactly what benchmarks we have to hit at what intervals to get energy efficiency right," Mr Cohen says. "I suspect that very few factories actually do that. They probably have, say, their textile dyeing processes down to the finest art you can imagine, but very few organisations involved in production have actually got the grip on boiler efficiency that we have."

AHS is the largest contract energy-management company, claiming to account for nearly half the market. Other leading companies include BP Energy and Emstar, which is a subsidiary of Shell.

The contract companies offer various packages, from a simple review of the client's energy performance and how it can be improved to running the organisation's energy operation under contract.

Cost-cutting is the main aim. Emstar calculates that most British companies and institutions could cut energy bills by more than 20 per cent. The contract companies are also increasingly playing the green card. They say lower consumption means

able energy resources and reduced emissions of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide.

An important feature of many contract companies in the Eighties was what they called savings-funded energy efficiency schemes. The contractor installed more energy-efficient equipment for the client company and paid for that and the contract fee out of savings.

"Savings-funded schemes will work only where there is either extremely expensive energy, as there was in the mid-Eighties, or incredibly inefficient use of energy," Adam Rendall, Emstar's finance director, says. "Today, with much lower-price energy and people having taken steps to maximise efficiency as best they can, by no means all schemes, or all of any scheme, can be funded out of savings alone."

"What happens now is that some of the investment involved is typically funded out of the savings that the customer makes and the balance

is topped up by the payment of a service fee."

This is still worthwhile as the client is buying highly efficient energy over the period of the contract and the plant becomes his property when the contract ends.

"You will get a new plant and equipment, which you might anyway have had to replace out of your own money over the lifetime of the contract," Mr Rendall says. "Typically, the plant and equipment will have a life very considerably in excess of the length of the contract and, of course, once you have paid for all that brand new equipment out of the savings and/or service fee during the life of the contract, that equipment is all yours. The ownership transfers to the client."

Mr Cohen says his company still has some savings-funded arrangements, but prefers a more straightforward contract. AHS guarantees a saving in return for a straight fee. Shared savings schemes can be a recipe for trouble if the parties to the contract cannot agree exactly what has been saved, Mr Cohen says.

"We prefer to say, 'Here you are, you have a guaranteed saving because it is built into the contract.' If you vary what you require, then that is a variation to the contract and everybody knows that and

The up-to-date facts about British Coal are a breath of fresh air. Rapid advances in combustion technology means that coal burning today can be clean.

We've helped to devise equipment which can reduce by over 90% the emissions which contribute to acid rain. And as we're also developing technology which can generate 20% more power from the same amount of coal, we're well on the way towards achieving a significant reduction in the amounts of greenhouse gases emitted.

British Coal is also getting cheaper in real terms. And that's

equally important when you realise that about 70% of the country's electricity comes from coal mined here in the UK.

Our current agreement with the electricity generators commits us to absorbing all normal inflation for the next three years. While long-term contracts with power stations would guarantee coal prices even further into the future and help keep the cost of electricity down.

Without asking the environment to pay a high price either

WAKE UP TO THE NEW AGE OF

**British COAL**



هكذا من الأصل



schools is all very well, but they have got us to the same place. I think it would be worse to be from Eton and go to Liverpool poly.

"I haven't a loan. It seems such a rigmarole for little advantage and I should prefer to work in my holidays to get the cash. I am one of the few people here who has a full grant, but I had to pay £171 poll tax last year so I already have an overdraft.

"I really notice the resentment that students cause in Durham. There is high unemployment in the city and there are certain pubs you just can't use. Durham is such a strait-laced public-school university that I think it inhibits minority groups. It's terrible but I haven't met any blacks or Asians.

"The level of political apathy here is high. So long as I've been conscious of the political world, it has been Mrs Thatcher. Most people are Conservative, which does not really inspire heated debate and marches, although I would go on a poll-tax demonstration. The most politically active person I've met is an American.

"Drugs are not a big issue, either, in the North beer is cheaper, in the South drugs are probably more easily available. Sport is big and I'd like to do sub-aqua diving because I am interested in marine archaeology and wreck salvage.

"People consider us to be academics but all we are trying to do is equip ourselves better for a life after education and enjoy ourselves. I have not planned far ahead but I would like eventually to settle down with someone."



Different perspective: Casper Hare attends university in the United States, where peace rallies are still common events among students

## 'Sex is not all we think about'



● Cordelia Liu (above), aged 18, is at Manchester university, reading physiology. She was educated at Saint Philomena's, an all-girl comprehensive school near Croydon, Surrey. Her father emigrated from Hong Kong in the Sixties and owns a takeaway restaurant. Her mother emigrated from Malaysia and works at Sainsbury's.

"I didn't know what to expect when I arrived at Manchester. I have only just finished my A-levels and university is so different from school - the pace is much faster and you are not being spoon-fed any more. You can get away with doing no work but that catches up with you at exams.

"I went to Manchester because everybody said it was good socially and academically, and it has lived up to that reputation. There are lots of clubs and I go around with people I never thought I would meet before. University is less cliquish than school and people from different backgrounds mix easily.

"I was born in Britain and am very aware that I have two cultures. I have not noticed any racism. Ethnic minorities tend to stick together but I mix with both cultures.

"My parents were really pleased when I got into university. They told me I was on my way to a job and a proper career. I should like to be in management. My parents definitely pressurised me to work. There has never been a choice, really; my life has always been very work-orientated.

would happen if Saddam was allowed his own way.

"I should hate to have a student loan. I have a full grant and I can live off that. You hear of people overdraw after two months, but I cannot think what they spend money on - maybe books because they are a big expense and the libraries are underfunded.

"When I first arrived, everybody kept throwing sex at you. Our first lecture was on family planning advice, the college newspaper issued free condoms and there were advertisements everywhere about safe sex. I know we are meant to be the Aids generation, but just because we are students it does not mean that sex is the only thing we think about."

● Casper Hare is at Wesleyan university in Connecticut in the United States. He was educated at Eton and decided to go to an American university because academically, it gave him greater flexibility. His father, the chairman of a multinational company, also went to university in the US.

"I wanted to get away from the competitiveness of public school where everyone was just working for grades and nobody really

appreciated what they were doing. Work was just seen as a competitive game with no reason for it.

"At an American university you feel you can expand your mind and remain versatile. It is the other side of the coin really from British universities. You do not specialise at all until your final year. But that is the American ideal: breadth rather than depth. You read a few books, study a piece of music or maybe a poem and learn about Marx. Everything is less intense.

"I work very hard, partly through insecurity, partly for pleasure, and I have also got involved in the theatre and directing. It has been interesting being in America during the Gulf crisis. Everyone has begun to motivate themselves and we are always having peace rallies. Wesleyan is about 80 per cent against a Gulf war.

"Most people come from similar backgrounds. They all seem quite classless and their past is less relevant. I am surprised at how friendly everybody is. The British are so rigid but Americans love opening their heart out and are far more energetic. I suppose they treat me as a bit of a novelty. I am quite different anyway and I do not feel I can be stereotyped.

"Wesleyan prides itself on being liberal and open-minded. Everybody is conscious of racism and sexism. It is even against the college rules to call anyone a girl. It has to be woman and we have ethical workshops. All the women have a strong idea of the need to be socially liberated.

"There are about 4,000 students here and they mostly live on campus. Nobody is legally allowed to drink until the age of 21 and the university does not supply alcohol. Soft drugs and drink are not actually prohibited on campus but people do not get as drunk here as they seem to in England. Nobody minds paying their way through university by working in libraries and garages. Everyone does it.

"They do not seem to be as obsessed here about joining the career ladder as soon as they have graduated. They have a different attitude to time. Nobody is desperate to start working yet. They do not plan years ahead.

"I think the public school system in England is horrible. It really creates a loveless society of well groomed and snobbish adults. It has such an unhealthy social competitiveness. I would be in a great dilemma as to where I would educate my child."

## The head's battle plan

GEOFFREY Parker, the high master of Manchester grammar school, intends to counter the Labour party's plans to make life difficult for independent schools. This will be in his new role as the chairman of the small but influential Headmasters' Conference, which represents 230 leading independent schools in Britain.

"We shall need to counter moves by some political parties - the proposed abolition of the assisted places scheme and the possible loss of charitable status - which would make independent schools inaccessible to all but the rich," Mr Parker says.

Average fees are £3,000 a year for day schools and £9,000 for full boarding. Parents at the 1,450-pupil Manchester Grammar pay £957 a term. Mr Parker, aged 57, was educated at Alderman Newton's School, Leicester, and at Christ's College, Cambridge, and Wadham College, Oxford.

As Mr Parker takes over as the Headmasters' Conference chairman, David Cleland, the headmaster of Fulneck Boys' School, Pudsey, West Yorkshire, becomes the chairman of the Society of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Independent Schools. Mr Cleland, aged 49, has been the head of the 312-pupil school since 1980. Fees range from £2,529 for day pupils to £5,500 for boarding.

## Costly vandals

PARENTS of children who have vandalised their schools may be sued for compensation under an Essex county council scheme. Before starting civil proceedings, the council will have to prove the vandalism was a direct result of parental negligence. Figures for 1990 in Essex showed that vandalism in the county's schools had caused damage estimated at £1.2 million.

## Schools opt out

THREE more schools are to be allowed to opt out of local government control, provided some changes are made to their proposals. The go-ahead has been given to two Kent schools, Cornwallis, at Linton, and Wilmington grammar, and to King Edward VI grammar school, Louth, Lincolnshire.

Of the three, only Wilmington was threatened with closure

when Kent county council announced in June, after proposals for grant-maintained status were sent to the government, that it intended to cease maintaining the school of 349 boys. The Church of England proposed to open a new secondary school in Wilmington, but both proposals have been rejected. The latest decision means 59 schools have been allowed to opt out under the 1988 Education Reform Act and decisions are awaited in 37 others.

## Eyes on Europe

TWO universities are keeping their students up to date with developments in eastern Europe. Nottingham invited Poland's foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, to give its Hugh Gaitkell memorial lecture on Friday. Later this month Edinburgh university will hear John Olin, of the United States Air Force Academy, Colorado, talking about security and arms control in the new Europe in the university's Mountbatten lecture.

## Bat Packing



BATS living quietly in lofts can expect a new interest in their lifestyle. Primary school teachers are to use a teaching pack provided by Watch, the junior wing of the Royal Society for Nature Conservation, and the Wildlife Trust. The Bat Pack, costing £2.50, includes worksheets and instructions on building a bat home. The over-enthusiastic are reminded of the Bat Code:

- Do not disturb the roost or the bats.
- Bats are very sensitive to noises and light.
- Bats are protected and should not be disturbed or handled.
- If you find any roosts consult your local bat group.

DAVID TYTLER

## EDUCATIONAL

### UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

#### LECTURESHIP IN INDUSTRIAL MATHEMATICS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for a Lectureship to enhance new research and teaching developments in Industrial Mathematics in the Department of Mathematics. The successful candidate should have industrial experience and will be expected to make substantial contributions to ongoing industrial/research work in mathematical modelling and applied numerical analysis. The Lecturer will be expected to sustain existing developments and to promote further the growing interactions with industry.

Salary in range £12,086 - £22,311 p.a.

For application form and further particulars (Ref 2/91) contact the Personnel Office, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ. Applications closing date 4th February 1991.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES EMPLOYER

#### THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES ABERYSTWYTH CHAIR OF LAW

Applications are invited for a Chair of Law from candidates with suitable teaching and research experience. Salary will be within the professional range (minimum £27,015 per annum).

Further information is available from the Staffing Officer, The University College of Wales, Old College, Office, The University College of Wales, Old College, 622054) to whom applications (12 copies from applicants in the UK should be sent, together with the names and addresses of three referees, to arrive not later than Friday 8 February 1991. Applicants from overseas may submit one application by Airmail or FAX (0970 611446).

#### BILKENT UNIVERSITY Ankara - Turkey

Applications are invited for teaching appointments for the academic year 1991-92, from candidates who specialise in: English Literature/Culture, American Literature/Studies, History of Art (Greek, Latin, Ancient History).

QUALIFICATIONS: Experience in teaching is highly desirable. Ph.D. degree is required.

SALARY AND BENEFITS: Tax-free competitive (in Turkey) salaries, round-trip air fare, fully furnished accommodation.

The medium of instruction is English in the University. Send letter of application, resume, diploma(s), photograph, names of three referees to: BILKENT University, 06533 Bilkent, Ankara, Turkey. Tel. (4) 266 41 29.

#### UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

#### FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND APPLIED SCIENCE RANK CHAIR OF INFRARED SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Applications are invited for the newly instituted Rank Chair of Infrared Science and Technology, available for 5 years in the first instance. The post is funded by a generous benefaction from the trustees of the Rank Prize Funds. Applicants should be well qualified with an established reputation in research in the science and technology of infrared materials, devices and systems in the industrial and/or academic field. Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary and Registrar, The University, Southampton SO9 5NH (Tel: 0703 592802) to whom applications (12 copies from applicants in the UK) should be sent before 15 March 1991.

The University promotes an equal opportunities policy.

#### TECHNOLOGY AND BUSINESS STUDIES

Applications are invited for a Fixed-Term Lectureship (tenable for 2 years in the first instance) for the Technology and Business Studies Course. The ideal candidate will have a degree in Business Studies, training in personnel management and experience in industry and commerce.

Salary in range: £12,086 - £22,311 p.a.

For application form and further particulars (Ref: 7/91) contact the Personnel Office, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XQ. Applications closing date: 31st January 1991.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES EMPLOYER

#### GOLDSMITHS' COLLEGE University of London

#### CHAIR OF MUSIC

This newly-established Chair will be filled on the retirement of the present Head of Department, Professor Stanley Glasser, in September 1991. The College seeks candidates who, in addition to their particular research interests, would bring vision and leadership to a large and varied department.

Applications (10 copies) should be submitted to the Director, Goldsmiths' College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW, from whom further particulars should first be obtained.

The College is an Equal Opportunities Employer. Closing date for receipt of completed applications is 25 February 1991.

Ref No. P/91/06A

### UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

#### Readership in Economic History and Readership in Recent Social and Economic History

The boards of selectors intend to proceed to an election to the Readership in Economic History and to the Readership in Recent Social and Economic History, with effect from 1 October 1991 or such later date as may be arranged. The stipends of the readers will be on the scale which is at present £28,428 to £28,471 per annum.

Applications for either readership (two copies, or one from overseas candidates), naming three referees, should be received not later than 11 March 1991 by the Registrar, University Offices, Wellington Square, Oxford, OX1 2AJ, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

The University is an Equal Opportunity Employer

### INDEPENDENT EDUCATION

#### St. Dunstan's College

HMC Day School for 820 boys (aged 7-18)

Required for September 1991

Head of Religious Education

The subject is taught throughout the College up to the 5th Form where it is a GCSE option.

Applications from those able also to teach some Classics would be welcome.

Own salary scale, well above inner London, "Baker", assistance with removal expenses.

Further details from Headmaster, St. Dunstan's College, Beaumont Road, Oxford, OX4 4TY, telephone 0185 498 1274, to whom applications should be sent by Friday, 8th February.

### POSTS



#### ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL GUILDFORD

#### APPOINTMENT OF HEAD

Applications are invited for the post of Head following the retirement of Mr John Daniel at the end of the summer term 1992. Particulars can be obtained from the Headmaster's Secretary, Royal Grammar School, High Street, Guildford, Surrey, GU1 3BB, telephone 0483 39880. The closing date is 22nd February 1991.

#### Loughborough University of Technology

#### ASSISTANT REGISTRAR

Applications are invited from graduates with relevant experience for the post in the Academic Registry. The duties will combine work in the Resources and Academic Planning Office with support for the Committee Secretariat, but the opportunity will exist for involvement with other areas of the Department.

Initial appointment will be on ALC Grade 3 £16,886 - £22,311 p.a. depending on qualifications and experience.

Further particulars and application forms from the Personnel Office, University of Technology, Loughborough, Leics LE11 3TU quoting reference no 91/9/AD.

### POSTS

Continued on next page

#### ALLHALLOWS SCHOOL BURSAR

Applications are invited for the post of Bursar which will become vacant in October 1991. Candidates should be aged between 35 and 50 and should have had wide financial and administrative experience at a responsible level. A salary of not less than £26,000 and certain allowances can be expected. Full particulars and application form may be obtained from the Bursar, Allhallows School, Rousdon, Lyme Regis, Dorset DT7 3RA.

Applications must be received by Friday 15th February, 1991.

#### Girls' Public Day School Trust

#### NOTTING HILL & EALING HIGH SCHOOL (Girls 5-18)

Applications are invited for the post of HEAD

which will become vacant from 1st September 1991 upon the appointment of the present Headmistress, Mrs. C.J. Fitz, B.Sc as Headmistress of Howell's School, Llandaff, Cardiff.

There are about 561 girls in the senior department and 200 in the junior. The Head has responsibility for both senior and junior departments.

The school participates in the Government's Assisted Places Scheme.

For further particulars and an application form write to

The Secretary  
The Girls' Public Day School Trust  
26 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AH  
Closing date for applications  
Wednesday, 30th January 1991

### FELLOWSHIPS

#### ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE Research Fellowships

The Governing Body of St Catharine's College invites applications from men and women for election to up to three Research Fellowships, renewable without restriction as to subject, from 1 October 1991 for three years. Candidates must be graduates of a University and under thirty years of age on 1 October 1990. The closing date for applications is 1 March 1991.

Further particulars are available from the Secretary for the Research Fellowships Competition, St Catharine's College, Cambridge CB2 1RL. (Telephone: 0223 336349).

#### Geography English Biology Physical Education

These posts may well suit new graduates, or those seeking a first move in teaching, or those wishing to move into the teaching profession from elsewhere.

Bradfield College Salary Scale; housing provided; excellent facilities.

Applications by 28th January 1991 (with curriculum vitae and names and addresses of two referees) to:

The Head Master  
Bradfield College  
Reading,  
Berkshire RG7 6AR.  
Tel: 0734-744203

from whom further details may be obtained.



## EDUCATIONAL

## POSTS

## UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

## Professorship of Pathology

The electors intend to proceed to an election to the Professorship of Pathology, with effect from 1 October 1992. The stipend of the professorship is currently £35,231 per annum, which includes an allowance payable in respect of the professor's duties as head of the Sir William Dunn School of Pathology.

Applications (ten copies, or one from overseas candidates), naming three referees, should be received not later than 11 March 1991 by the Registrar, University Offices, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

Rawlinson and Bosworth  
Professorship of Anglo-Saxon

The electors intend to proceed to an election to the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon, with effect from 1 October 1991 or such later date as may be arranged. The stipend of the professorship is currently £31,088 per annum.

Applications (eight copies, or one from overseas candidates), naming three referees, should be received not later than 11 March 1991 by the Registrar, University Offices, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

The University is an Equal Opportunity Employer

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For further details and an application form (to be returned by 5 February 1991) write to Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke, Hants RG21 1JB, or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 468551 (answering service operates outside office hours). Please quote ref: G/8744.

The Civil Service is an equal opportunity employer. Applications are welcome from all qualified individuals irrespective of race, sex, marital status, and disability.

CIVIL SERVICE COLLEGE

HOWELL'S SCHOOL  
DENBIGH  
APPOINTMENT OF  
HEAD

The Governors seek to fill the vacant Headship of Howell's School, Denbigh, as soon as possible.

Exceptionally located and equipped, Howell's is an Independent School for approximately 325 girls, aged 8 - 18 boarding and day, established under trusts administered by The Worshipful Company of Drapers of London.

Further details and application form may be obtained from The Clerk, Drapers' Hall, London EC2N 2DQ.

The closing date for applications is 14th February, 1991.

THE TIMES  
INDEPENDENT  
EDUCATION  
FEATURE

The Sunday Times and The Times will publish the Independent Education Feature on January 27th & 28th and 4th & 5th February

The Sunday Times and The Times combined reach 1,738,000 adults with children, many of whom will be seriously considering the options of Independent Education.

For more details of this feature or to place your advertisement call Tertia Allan on

071 481 1066

THE SUNDAYTIMES

Source: UK NRS January 1990 - June 1990.

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Bright and lively secretary required to assist Editor's PA in national newspaper office.

Must have good shorthand and be able to deal with people at all levels. Flexible working hours as office is manned between 9am & 8pm with alternate Sundays (10-6pm). Good salary, 5 weeks holiday, BUPA Pension Scheme and other company benefits.

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Julie Edwards  
News (UK) Ltd  
Allen House  
70 Vauxhall Bridge Road  
London SW1V 2RP

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Please apply, with CV to Mrs Brenda Hemmings, Recruitment Manager, Personnel Dept, News International Newspapers Limited, P O Box 481 Virginia Street London E1 9BD.

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Please submit with Photo, Curriculum Vitae, and references. Applications to: The City of London Corporation, 100 Old Broad Street, London EC2M 1JL.

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Bright, enthusiastic, adaptable secretary required by busy Docklands Estate Agents. Salary negotiable. Applications to: William Allen, 211 Tower Bridge Road, London SE1 2UP. 071-407 2790.

## TEMPTING TIMES

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Ref: LAN for interview.

## NON-SECRETARIAL

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VACANCIES

For a small, established, and successful business in the City of London, we are seeking a PA/Secretary to assist the Managing Director. The successful candidate will be responsible for a wide range of administrative duties, including correspondence, travel arrangements, and general office management. Salary is £15,000 per annum plus a bonus of up to £2,000 per annum. Please send your CV and references to: The City of London Corporation, 100 Old Broad Street, London EC2M 1JL.

Call Jane or Rose at the Agency on 071-638-1295

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## PA/SEC TO MD

Managing Director of a busy shipping and forwarding company requires a loyal and patient secretary/PA to help take some of the day to day pressure away. Must have had a number of years office experience and be efficient in shorthand and typing. References please. Salary negotiable depending on experience.

Please send CV to: Mrs. Vellades, Velos Group Ltd, Sycamore House, 6/8 Sycamore Street, London EC1V 0SR. All applications will be treated strictly confidentially.

## PA/SECRETARY

Paragon Book Service Ltd is a major Book Distributor/Publisher in the UK. We urgently require an experienced PA/Secretary to join our expanding Company at our new offices in North Finchley.

Age 25+, good organisational skills, lively personality. Excellent salary and prospects for the right person.

Please call 081 445 5222 for an Application Form or write with CV to Laura Dempsey, Paragon Book Service Ltd, 707 High Road, Finchley London N12 0BT.

REGISTRAR/  
ADMINISTRATION  
OFFICER

Well established Language School in London requires an efficient and enthusiastic Registrar/Administration Officer. The successful candidate must be familiar with all aspects of office practice, enjoy dealing with people and be prepared to assume responsibility. Salary according to age and experience.

Reply with CV to Box No 2484.

## PA TO DIRECTOR

Newspaper Publishing Company in WC2 requires a young, enthusiastic PA to assist the Managing Director. Excellent presentation and skills (100/60) required. Salary £15,000.

Please send hand written application plus CV to: Administration Manager, 11 Backingham Street, London WC2N 6DF

## COMMUNITY CREME

LONDON SCHOOL OF  
ECONOMICS AND  
POLITICAL SCIENCEPA IN UNIVERSITY  
ADMINISTRATION

Our School Secretary is looking for a bright Personal Assistant, with excellent administrative and organisational skills, to support her in this highly pressurised environment.

If you have administrative/office experience, and an interest in the University sector, this could be an excellent career move. You will have a chance to undertake research, draft own correspondence, provide briefs for meetings, carry out projects, supervise a secretary and meet a variety of staff, students and visitors, plus plenty of scope to use your initiative and develop the job further. Basic keyboard and office skills are essential. WP training can be given.

We can offer you a salary in the range of £13,534 - £15,385 inclusive, six weeks leave, season ticket loan and a wide variety of staff facilities.

For further details and application form, please write to the Staffing Office, LSE, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, or call 071 405 7886 Ext 2077. Please quote reference number 75395.

Closing date for applications is 28 January 1991. An Equal Opportunities Employer

MULTI-LINGUAL  
OPPORTUNITIES

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MARKETING  
INTO EUROPE

Fluent French  
circa £18.5K

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## Money, Money, Money

Stability, Stability  
£20,000 plus pkg at 21

Top US Merchant Bank is currently recruiting Sales Assistants, Secretaries and Top PAs.

The work is pressurised and involving and requires individuals with outgoing personalities, who enjoy team work, are intelligent and very well presented. Banking experience useful. Languages useful.

If you want to earn a substantial salary and want to work for a Company where your job is secure, please ring us asap.

Handover Square  
071 486 1461

ANGELA MORTIMER  
Secretarial Recruitment Consultancy

PA TO CHIEF  
EXECUTIVE  
£18,000 +

Beautiful Stone River office housing private financial services company currently seek a top level PA/Secretary to assist their Chief Executive. Organising an extensive business as well as social diary - including shooting weekends, there is enormous variety in this position and liaison at the highest level. Excellent skills are required (80/70 wpm) - Only candidates with similar experience will be considered.

Age 27-40

HODGE  
RECRUITMENT  
CONSULTANTS  
071-629 8863

PROPERTY  
£16,500 pa

Excellent opportunity to use your property experience when you join this prestigious Co as Senior Secretary to a Main Board Director. You will be able to take on as much responsibility as your previous exp and initiative allows. Lots of interesting level liaison and generally acting as the officeynch pin (ie x-training new secretaries onto the WP). 100/60 wpm skills.

Please call 071 499 8070.  
CAROLINE KING  
appointments

NEW YEAR  
NEW CAREERBlackstone  
FranksPA TO MANAGING  
DIRECTOR

City Location Salary £16K + bens

- Are you capable of working on your own initiative?
- Can you cope with excessive work loads under stress?
- Do you have sound administrative skills?
- Are you able to remain organised under pressure?

Typing and shorthand skills are not required but hard work and loyalty are essential. Experience in the Financial Services industry would be advantageous but is not essential.

Contact Barbara Field on 071 - 250 3300  
Blackstone Franks plc 25-34 Old Street,  
London EC1

NO AGENCIES PLEASE

## SUPER SECRETARIES

INTERNATIONAL YACHT RACING  
UNION - LONDON

SUPPORT SECRETARY  
£11,000 - £12,600

The International Yacht Racing Union, the world governing body for Yacht Racing, has a vacancy for a Support Secretary with good communication skills and WP abilities (Word Perfect 6) to become part of the team.

The right candidate will probably be aged between 18-22, have an enthusiastic attitude, a keen eye for detail, and a willingness to work long hours. Please send your CV to: International Yacht Racing Union, 100 Old Broad Street, London EC2M 1JL.

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GRADUATE/PA for Research  
Director, Typing/writing essential

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